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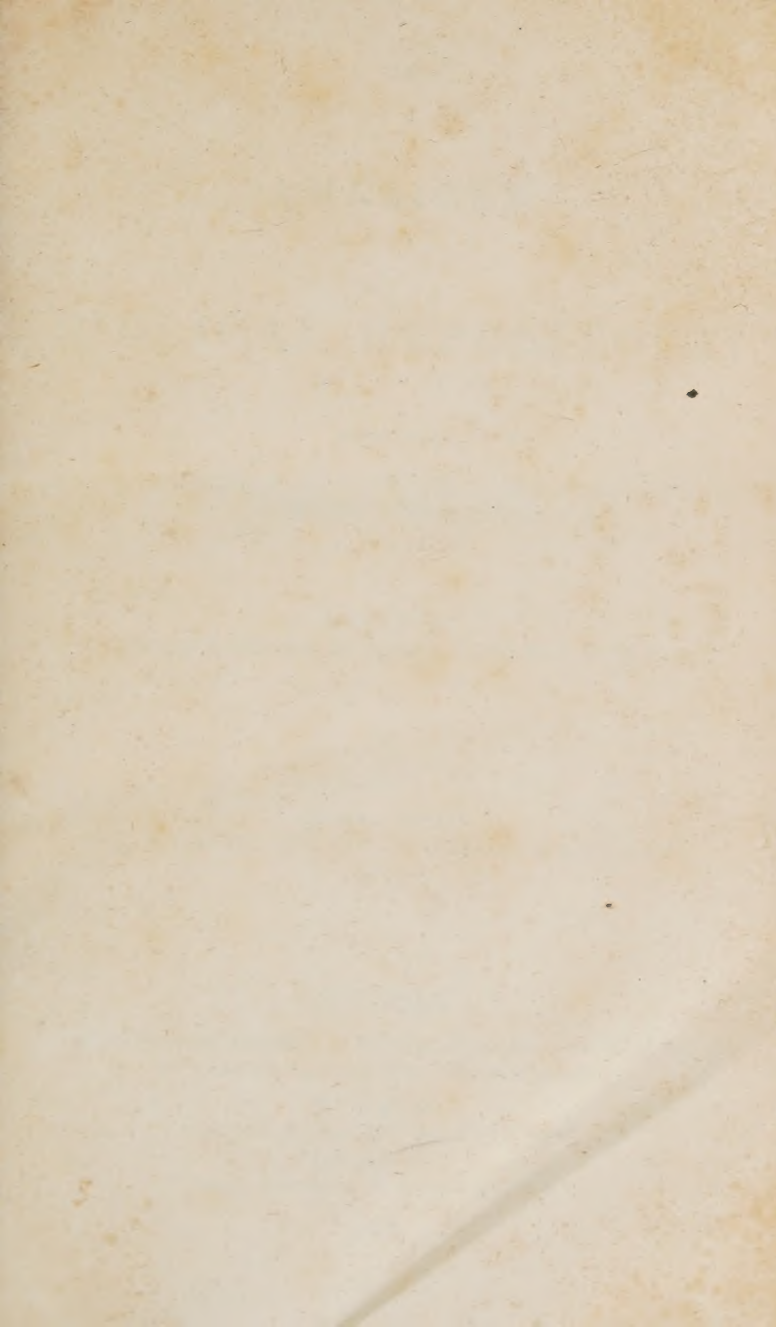
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DEVOTED TO

Biblical and General Literature, Theological Discussion, the History
of Theological Opinions, etc.

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ERRATA.

Page 399, line 22, for practical, read practised.
 " 401, " 25, " excellency " excellence.
 " 404, " 8, " ardently, " evidently.

THE
AMERICAN
BIBLICAL REPOSITORY.

JANUARY, 1842.

SECOND SERIES, NO. XIII.—WHOLE NO. XLV.

ARTICLE I.

THE ABORIGINES OF NORTH AMERICA.

By Philip Lindsley, D. D. President of Nashville University, Tennessee.

[The following remarks may be regarded as a mere appendix of notes to former articles upon “the primitive state of mankind.”—See Am. Bib. Repos. Oct. 1840, and July, 1841.]

I mentioned America among the countries doomed, probably soon after the flood, to be the abode of savages. I am aware that plausible objections have been urged against the opinion that America was known, much less inhabited, at a very early period. I am aware, also, that diverse theories have been contrived and advocated to account for the peopling of this vast continent. With these conflicting speculations, I do not mean to intermeddle at present.

But let it be remembered, that we have no authentic history of any country which was not inhabited *at the time* when it was first discovered or visited by civilized man. And who can pretend to tell us *when* or *how* the first inhabitants arrived there? Why are we to suppose that America was not peopled as soon as China and Japan, and Gaul and Britain, and the western and southern coasts of Africa? The reason assigned is, that, in those *rude ages*, as we are pleased to style them, men had not wit or knowledge enough to get there. They had not the means of transportation. They were ignorant of the

arts of ship-building and navigation. Indeed! And how do we know this? Could men, with the ark before their eyes,—the largest, strongest, safest ship that ever rode upon the shoreless deep, which had braved the fury of a forty days' tempest, and outlived the convulsions of a dissolving world,—be incapable of constructing a frail bark which might buffet the smooth waves of a summer's sea for a few short months, or weeks, or days? Or, after they had traversed the mountains and the plains of Tartary, and reached the northeastern extremities of Asia; what should have prevented their crossing the narrow strait which separates that continent from this? Or, in the opposite direction, might they not have passed over from the west of Africa, by that chain of islands which probably once connected that country with America, but which have long since been buried in the ocean? We are not bound, however, to devise or to explain the ways and means by which the Almighty may have chosen to execute his plans and purposes. If we can ascertain the latter, we may be satisfied that the former were both wise and adequate.

Moses informs us that, from the tower of Babel or the plains of Shinar, the people were dispersed over the whole earth. His words are: "So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth." Gen. 11: 8, 9. That America had been submerged by the flood, and that the waters had retired from its surface at the same time as from the rest of the earth, is certain both from Scripture and from the researches of the modern geologist. At any rate, the science of geology can furnish no ground to presume that the new world is of a more recent origin or formation than the old. The characteristic phenomena of each are identical or analogous, and prove that both have been subjected to the same changes and influences, whatever these may have been, or however they may be accounted for or explained by any philosophical theory. That Moses, therefore, by *all the earth*, could mean only the half of it, is gratuitously imputing to him a latitude of expression which, it is believed, he was not in the habit of employing. I admit the fact, then, to have been precisely as he has recorded it. I do not question his integrity or accuracy, or even his philosophy in this or any other particular.

Now it is remarkable that in this, as in other cases where the Mosaic history has been impugned or but partially received, all the collateral or internal evidence, all the rational or philo-

sophical considerations, and all the traditionary or ethnical testimony, which can be made to bear upon the subject, go to confirm his statement in its literal sense and to the fullest extent. Those men who have recently studied the character, languages, rites, ceremonies, usages, traditions and history of the Indians with the greatest care, furnish ample materials to establish the opinion, that the Aborigines of America must be traced to a higher source than has usually been allotted to them; that they are indeed a primitive people; that they must have emigrated at a very early period; and that, in consequence of their complete separation from the rest of Noah's descendants, they have preserved a more distinct and homogeneous character and configuration than probably can be found in any other extensive portion of the globe. Can any trace of such an occurrence be detected in the existing records of antiquity?

Some learned men suppose that Plato, in his *Timæus* and *Critias*, indicates pretty clearly that a knowledge of America, however obscure and imperfect, had once prevailed in Egypt. Should we admit with Crantor and Ammianus Marcellinus among the ancients, with Perizonius, Buffon, Bailly and Whitehurst among the moderns, that Plato's account of the lost Atlantis was in the main true, or founded in truth, and that he or his authorities had reference to a great western continent, then the problem of our aboriginal population could be solved without difficulty. "He commences (says Catcott) by mentioning a fact that happened in the most early ages, the nearest of any known to the beginning of the world; and that is, of a vast tract of land, or an island greater than Libya and Asia, situated beyond the bounds of Africa and Europe, which, by the concussion of an earthquake, was swallowed up in the ocean. Plato introduces this fact, as related by Solon, who, while he was in Egypt, had heard it of an old Egyptian priest, when he discoursed with him concerning the most ancient events. This priest tells Solon, that the Greeks, with regard to their knowledge in antiquity, had always been children; and then informs him of the history of this famous island, of which the Greeks knew nothing before." The description of this island, its catastrophe, and all the circumstances specified are so unique and extraordinary, that there must have been some ground in nature and truth for the tradition. What that precise ground was, has greatly puzzled the critics; and their fanciful conjectures and speculations about the locality of Plato's Atlantis and of the

sea which replaced it, or about the event which gave rise to the story, are probably not more pertinent or satisfactory than those presented by Catcott, which I proceed to recite.)

“There was formerly (says Plato) an island at the entrance of the ocean, where the Pillars of Hercules stand [and consequently beyond the then supposed limits of Europe and Africa]. This island was larger than all Libya and Asia; and from it was an easy passage to many other islands; and from these islands to all that continent which was opposite, and next to the true sea [*ἁλὶθινὸν πόρτον*, or Pacific Ocean]. Yet, within the mouth there was a gulf with a narrow entry. But that land, which surrounded the sea [*πέλαγος*, where the division was made] might justly be called a continent. In after times there happened a dreadful earthquake and an inundation of water, which continued for the space of a whole day and night; and this island, Atlantis, being covered and overwhelmed by the waves, sunk beneath the ocean, and so disappeared [*κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης δῦσα ἔφανίσθη*]. And that the sea in this place has been ever since so filled with mud and sands, that no one can sail over it, or pass by it to those other islands on or near to the firm land.

“On this subject one may observe, that all historians and cosmographers, ancient and modern, call that sea, in which this island was engulfed, the Atlantic Ocean; retaining even the very name the island bore; which seems a sufficient proof that there had been such an island. Admitting, then, the truth of this history, no one can deny this island, beginning near the straits of Gibraltar, to have been of that extent, from the north southward and from the east westward, as to be more than as large as Asia and Africa. By the other neighboring islands are doubtless meant Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, St. John's, and those on the coast. By the continent or firm land, opposite to those isles, mentioned by Plato, is certainly meant that land which is now called North and South America. And one must not be surprised at this new world's not having been discovered by the Romans, or any of those other nations which, at different times, abode in Spain; because it may reasonably be imagined that the supposed difficulty of navigating this sea, mentioned by Plato, then remained.” (*Augustin de Zarate*, a learned Spaniard of the 16th century quoted by Catcott.)*

* The prevalent report or tradition that the new sea or Atlantic Ocean was unnavigable would, in all probability, have

The Rev. Mr. Jones, in a letter to Catcott, comments thus on the passage: "Those who are inclined to slight it as allegorical, and think the earthquake described by Plato is incredible, because some fabulous circumstances are blended with the account, should endeavor to show us, what could possibly give rise to such a report in the eastern world; for that Plato should so expressly describe an *opposite continent* such as is actually now discovered, together with the way that led to it from the straits of Gibraltar, and that this strange report should be grounded on no ancient knowledge of the American continent, and prove to be true afterwards only by accident,—all this would be more incredible than the matter reported, which, if the natural monuments of this great earthquake, still subsisting, are taken into the account, has all the appearance of truth that can be desired." (The above correspondent of Mr. Catcott, I believe, was the Rev. William Jones, a learned clergyman of the Church of England, who died in 1801.)

Now, in support of Plato's Egyptian story of a vast tract of land having been swallowed up in the ocean,—of which the Canaries, St. Matthew, St. Thomas, St. Helena, the Azores, the great Banks of Newfoundland, and the West India Islands are so many remaining fragments, standing like pieces of a wreck above the waves, and still exhibiting to us some footsteps, as it were, of the ancient path that once led from Africa to America; besides the evidence which these *ruins* themselves present; besides the evidence involved in the very nature of the tradition;—which, if fiction, must be pronounced the most extraordinary ever invented, since it has proved to be fact; besides the facility with which it accounts for all the phenomena of animal existence in this remote hemisphere; besides all the evidence in its favor, from these and similar considerations, additional confirmation is afforded, according to several eminent critics and commentators, by Scripture itself when rightly interpreted. I offer no opinion of my own, either in regard to the statement from Plato, or in regard to the criticism on the sacred text which

prevented any attempts to navigate it long after every real obstacle had been removed, or after the sea had acquired sufficient depth for the purpose.

The *true sea* mentioned by Plato, to which his continent, lying beyond the island Atlantis, was adjacent, is the Great South Sea or Pacific Ocean.

I am going to cite from Catcott. Both, whether true or false, are sustained by the authority of distinguished scholars. The reader will appreciate them according to his own judgment.

It were to be presumed *a priori*, it is argued, that Moses, in speaking of the migration of mankind towards repeopling the earth, would make some mention, or give some hint or intimation, concerning the manner by which so large a part of the world, as the continent of America, became inhabited. And such there is reason to think he has done, and left recorded in the following remarkable passage: "And unto Eber were born two sons: the name of one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided." Gen. 10: 25. Also 1 Chron. 1: 19. On these words Bengelius remarks, that Peleg was so named from the *division* of the *earth* which happened in his days. Now the genealogical and political divisions mentioned by Moses are always expressed by different words in the original Hebrew, as may be seen by recurring to Gen. 10: 5, 18, 32, and 11: 9. But a very different kind of division is meant by the word *Peleg*; namely, a physical and geographical division, which happened *at once*, and which was so remarkable, and of such extent, as to justify the naming of the patriarch from the event. By this word *Peleg*, that kind of division is principally denoted which is applicable to land and water. Whence, in the Hebrew tongue, *Peleg* came to signify a river. In the Greek *πῆλαγος*, and in the Latin *Pelagus* denote the sea. From this precise meaning of the word, then, we may conclude that the earth was split or divided asunder for a very great extent, and the sea came between, in the days of Peleg; and that this was the *grand division* intended by the passage under consideration; and that soon after the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of mankind upon the face of the whole earth, some of the sons of Ham, to whom Africa was allotted, went out of Africa into that part of America which now looks towards Africa; and the earth being divided or split asunder in the days of Peleg, they, with their posterity, the Americans, were, for many ages, separated from the rest of mankind. From all this it may be inferred that Africa and America were once joined, or at least separated from each other only by a very narrow gulf or strait, and that, some time after the flood (say, between the close of the first and third centuries, *in the days* or during the lifetime of Peleg), the earth was divided or parted asunder, probably by means of an earthquake, and then this middle land

sunk beneath the ocean." This is certainly a curious coincidence, to say the least, that Plato, whose information was derived through Solon from the Egyptian priests, is thus made to accord with Moses, who was profoundly skilled in all the wisdom and science of Egypt; when at the very acme of her glory, in arms, in policy and in arts.

"Thus we have discovered (concludes Catcott) an easy way by which America might have been, and I apprehend, the true way by which it really was, supplied with inhabitants after the flood; a way this, that affords a very convenient passage, through a warm and fruitful climate, for the most tender and delicate animals, and such as could not endure any great degree of cold, and of course a very easy one for robust man."*

If America was peopled from Africa, then the Indians of this continent are descended from Ham; and consequently lie under the prophetic curse pronounced by Noah upon their wicked ancestor. "And he said, cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant." Gen. 9: 25, 27. How this malediction was finally accomplished upon the Canaanites, the

* The only copy of Catcott's work on the Deluge, which I have ever seen, belonged to the Library of Nassau-Hall. My extracts were made in 1820, during my residence at Princeton; and they are so mixed up with my own comments, that I may not have given him due credit for either the language or ideas which I have borrowed. My attention has been directed to Catcott and to my old manuscript notes, by two recent references to his book. 1. By John Delafield, in "An Inquiry into the Origin of the Antiquities of America." He dissents from Catcott, Bengelius and Plato,—though for very insufficient reasons, as it appears to me. 2. By a writer in the January (1841) number of the Princeton Review, upon the "Origin of the Aborigines of America;" who quotes largely and approvingly from the identical volume, I presume, which, many years ago, awakened my own curiosity and led me to sundry inquiries and speculations relative to the ancient population of this continent,—a subject, with me, still *sub judice*. I have never seen the work of the Rev. John Dunmore Lang, D. D., and know nothing more of his theory than can be gleaned from the above Review and from a brief article or two in the New-York Observer.

Babylonians, the Phœnicians, the Carthagenians, the Egyptians, etc., is well known to every reader of the Bible and of profane history. "The whole continent of Africa was peopled principally by the descendants of Ham; and for how many ages have the better parts of that country lain under the dominion of the Romans, and then of the Saracens, and now of the Turks!" (*Newton*.) And, it may be added, Africa has been, for centuries past, the common slave-mart and slaughter-house for all Christendom. "There never has been a son of Ham, who has shaken a sceptre over the head of Japheth. Shem hath subdued Japheth, and Japheth subdued Shem; but Ham never subdued either." (*Misk*.)

How exactly does the fate of the American savages correspond with the general destiny of Ham's posterity! They have been, without exception, conquered and enslaved, or reduced to a state of extreme vassalage; or they have been utterly exterminated, as were the nations of Palestine by the Israelites. How widely different their fate from that of the barbarous herds of Northern and Western Europe, and of all the acknowledged descendants of either Shem or Japheth! Here is a phenomenon, not easily explicable, except upon the hypothesis that they belong to the *doomed race*. And to this category, I should be disposed to assign them, from the very peculiarity of their fortunes, independently of mere ethnographical or other considerations. A like application of scriptural prophecy to the lost tribes of Israel might satisfy any candid mind that *they* can never be found among our native Indians. If they still exist here,—are yet to be discovered, recognized and restored to their ancient home or converted to the Christian faith,—it is manifest that this wonderful event must soon take place, or there will not remain an *Indian* representative of that people upon our continent. The prophecies would thus be rendered nugatory, from the sheer want of subjects, upon whom or by whom they were to be fulfilled. Now the singular destiny of every branch of the Abrahamic family is its *miraculous preservation* amidst all sorts of calamities and dispersions; while that of the American savage is certain *destruction*,—complete, absolute, inevitable extinction from the face of the earth. At least, this is true in regard to those North American tribes among whom any traces of a Hebrew origin are supposed to have been discovered.

I do not advance this prophetic argument to sustain the *African*

tis of Plato or the *logic* of Catcott. The former is a distinct, substantive, independent, and hitherto unoccupied ground. The latter may be rejected; and so may every other theory about the ancient highway from the Old world to the New. And yet the Indians *may* be the descendants of Ham,—either from Asia or Africa. If from the latter, it does not follow that they must have been of the Negro or Ethiopian race. None of the Asiatic *Hamites* were negroes. Nor is it probable that the primitive inhabitants of northern Africa, along the shores of the Mediterranean, from the Nile to the Straits of Gibraltar, were negroes. And from *these* must have issued the early colonies which settled the lost Atlantis (if such an island ever existed), and, at length, America. Soon after reaching the latter, they were suddenly and forever cut off from all future communication with their eastern brethren, by the earthquake which buried beneath the waves of the new Atlantic Ocean, the intervening land together with its entire population. Now we can easily suppose the condition, character and circumstances of the forlorn, destitute, isolated remnant that survived and were compelled to subsist as best they could in this gloomy wilderness, to have been such, that they naturally and speedily degenerated into savages; as did their kindred throughout central and southern Africa.

Nor does my argument from prophecy require that *all* the aborigines of this continent should be the offspring of Ham. The Esquimaux, for instance, belong to the *Mongolian* race according to Blumenbach, and are presumed to be descendants of Japheth. There may be others of the same family. Some tribes also may be identified, perhaps, with the South Sea Islanders and the Asiatic Malays. There is ample scope for exceptions, and for diversity of opinions in regard to several clans or nations. Theorists, moreover, are welcome to all the capital which they can make of the Mexicans, Peruvians, Natchez and Bogotians. So striking, however, is the resemblance between the aboriginal tribes in every part of the country, from Labrador to Cape Horn, that they are generally regarded by naturalists as constituting but one distinct *variety* of the human species. The great mass of them also appear evidently subjected to the *same* deplorable destiny; namely, bondage or extermination at the hands of *Christian* Japheth,—a destiny without a parallel, on so large a scale, in the history of man, and altogether inexplicable, except upon the assumption that they are the posterity of Ham, and are therefore still enduring

the grievous penalty denounced upon them more than four thousand years ago.

Nor do the marvellous ruins of splendid cities and colossal structures in Mexico and Central America, in the least, affect the argument or the general facts. That these were not the work of savages is conceded. The builders of Memphis, of Babylon, of Tyre, of Carthage were quite competent to the task, no doubt. And these were all legitimate *Hamites*. Whether they had any agency in the affair or not, I leave Messrs. Stephens and Catherwood to answer.* If it be objected *in limine*, that none of those enterprising ancients could possibly have found their way thither, be it so. Then get over or out of the difficulty as best you can. If *they* could not, pray who *could*, and who *did*? There lie the ruins, as palpable, as stupendous, as eloquent, as those of glorious old Thebes. The founders and citizens of both have alike passed away; and, but for a few slight historical and poetic notices of the latter, we should at this day be as ignorant of the one as of the other. And we should no more think of ascribing the gigantic monuments of the Nile to the servile Copt or Bedouin Arab, than we now do those at Palenque to the indigenous Mexican. The only rational mode in such case is to cut the Gordian knot forthwith and without flinching. When we meet, in the desert or wilderness, with a *Tadmor* of stately palaces and temples, let us have faith in adequate human agency, and take for granted that the ingenious Greek or his more accomplished master had been there, whether we can prove it or not. If the works in question shall be found to belong to the old Egyptian or Phœnician school of architecture, never doubt that the Egyptian or Phœnician navies once frequented the adjacent seas: and that upon these shores were some of those far distant, and to the rest of the world, unknown ports, with which they were in the habit of commercial intercourse; and that they reared and embellished the magnificent cities which have just begun to excite our curiosity and astonishment.†

* This article was prepared before the publication of Mr. Stephens' work on Central America, and was forwarded to the editors of the Repository before any copy of that work had reached Nashville.

† Ælian states, on the authority of Theopompus, that, at a certain conference between *Midas*, the Phrygian, and the sage

But, it will be urged, that they knew nothing of the mariner's compass. This again is a perfectly gratuitous and un-
 or demigod, *Silenus*, the latter, among other strange matters, informed his friend Midas: "That Europe, and Asia, and Libya were islands, which the ocean entirely surrounded; and that the country which was situated beyond their own part of the world was alone the true continent; that it was of boundless extent; that it nourished animals of a different kind and of immense size [the mammoth, megatherium, mastodon, missourium, etc.—no doubt]; that the men there were twice as large, and that they lived twice as long as other mortals; that there were many populous cities, and many peculiar modes or forms of life,—with laws and customs directly contrary to their own." *Silenus* goes on to describe two remarkable cities in particular, totally unlike each other; The one, a city of WAR [*Μάχημος*,] the other, of PIETY [*Εὐσεβής*]—the latter, of course, very good and very happy; the former always at war, and, with a population of some two millions, making sad havoc among their neighbors. He mentions also "an exploring expedition" undertaken by a company of adventurers, consisting of only about *ten millions*, whose aim was to cross the wide ocean and visit their kindred in the eastern world—or, "to pass over to these islands of ours," as the worthy *Silenus* hath it. That after a successful voyage (by way of Greenland, Iceland, etc., as I take it), they marched onward till they came in contact with the honest and courteous Hyperboreans, "esteemed the happiest people among us;" whom they affected to despise, and therefore disdained to proceed any further—upon such a fool's errand; with sundry other equally marvellous and no less credible facts and events;—for all which the curious reader may, at his leisure, consult the aforesaid most judicious and faithful *Ælian*. (Var. Hist. Lib. III. C. 18.)

But seriously, the nonsense of *Ælian* has been fairly matched by the modern stories of American Amazons, Patagonian giants, Yankee sea-serpents, etc.—to say nothing of the famous fountain, which was long believed to possess the property of bestowing perpetual youth; and in search of which *Juan Ponce de Leon* discovered Florida, in 1512. By the way, this very tradition may have been derived from or through *Ælian*, since he speaks of a similar fountain or river of *rejuvenescence* in the chapter above cited. How much of *truth* may have served as the *germ* of his narrative or fiction, is still a subject of grave controversy among the critics and scholiasts

vailing objection. For if they could not possibly reach our coast without the compass, and yet did actually reach it,—why, then, I suppose, we must allow them the benefit of the compass also. I do not assert that they used the compass, or that it was indispensable to their navigation. The objector has created the dilemma which demands it. Independently, however, of this hypothetical presumption, there is ground to believe that the compass has been known, from time immemorial, among the Chinese and other Orientals; and that it could hardly have been unknown among the Phœnicians and Egyptians. The immense fleets of Sesostriis, the extensive voyages of the Phœnicians from the days of Sidon to the destruction of Tyre, those performed by order of Solomon, the circumnavigation of Africa under Pharaoh Nechos, the naval prowess and commercial grandeur of Carthage, the exploring expeditions and discoveries of Hanno and Himilco,—all proclaim a degree of skill and knowledge in seamanship, far surpassing any thing recorded of the Greeks and Romans, and which it would be difficult to account for, without conceding to them some means or instruments never possessed by the latter. That the Phœnicians took every precaution to conceal “the secret of their navigation” from other nations is well known, and has never been denied. Might not the mariner’s compass have been among the things thus studiously concealed? Several learned men,—Pineda, Kircher, Sir William Drummond and others,—have labored to prove that these primitive navigators were acquainted with the *directive* properties of the magnet, and that they actually employed the compass or some similar instrument.*

However this may be, no one can read the glowing descriptions of their ships and commerce and naval enterprise and unparalleled opulence contained in the Bible, without feeling the conviction that neither the Greeks nor the moderns have ever accorded to them *more* than justice. I request the timid or skeptical reader to turn to the 27th and 28th chapters of

* For a brief view of the claims of the Chinese, etc., see Klaproth’s Letter to A. Humboldt; also, article “Compass, The Mariner’s,” in the Penny Cyclopædia.

The journals, charts, log-books, etc., of the old Phœnician captains, will, when discovered, probably shed some light not only upon the *Atlantis* and *Ophir*, but upon sundry other matters of considerable interest to the curious.

Ezekiel, and to the 23d of Isaiah; and when he has carefully perused and pondered each graphic phrase of the inspired record, let him search our world over for the city which can now be compared with ancient Tyre,—“the crowning city, whose merchants were princes,”—the then proud mistress of the ocean, and the grand emporium of a traffic which apparently extended to every port and people upon the globe. Such gorgeous language, if applied to any modern Venice or London, would be deemed not merely extravagant and hyperbolical, but positively absurd. So far then from being incredible, it might be assumed as highly probable, that the Phœnicians should have visited America, and planted colonies or established trading factories in the vicinity of its richest mines of gold and silver. If so, we can readily account for the amazing quantities of the precious metals with which they supplied the nations; and perhaps even the *Ophir* of Solomon may yet be claimed for our modest hemisphere.*

* The geographical position of *Ophir* has given rise to much learned speculation. Basnage mentions several writers, chiefly Jewish, who place it in Peru; or who rather make the names *Ophir* and *Peru* identical, by a mere transposition of the radical letters in the original Hebrew. This may be as orthodox etymology as that which would derive *Potomac* from the Greek word *ποταμός*, a river.

From Diodorus Siculus (Lib. 5. c. 19, 20), we gather the following particulars: “At a great distance from Africa to the west there lies in the vast ocean a very large island; having a fruitful soil, lofty mountains and navigable rivers. Formerly it was unknown on account of its very remote situation from the rest of the world. But at length the Phœnicians, who in the most ancient times were in the habit of making distant voyages for the purposes of trade, being driven thither by violent winds and tempests became acquainted with its value and importance; and thus introduced it to the knowledge and notice of some other nations, particularly the Tuscans, who attempted to plant a colony in it, but were prevented by the Carthagenians, who had become the most powerful people at sea,” etc. Wesseling, in his notes on the above, supposes that an island adjacent to America, or that America itself was referred to. At least, after disposing of the Fortunate and other islands, as not suiting the historian’s description, he asks: “Ergone una earum est, quæ Americæ adjacent, ipsave

But I do not require the Atlas of Plato or the ships of Tyre in order to furnish a passage for the original emigrants to this continent. Even in the present relative positions of the land and water, no very formidable obstacles exist; and ways enough have been pointed out, by which the rudest savage could pass from the one continent to the other. The chief difficulty, after all, is to find or devise a passage for many species of the inferior animals. These could neither have come by water nor over the ice. If all terrestrial animals were destroyed, except those preserved in the ark, we must admit the necessity of some practicable mode by which they could get here. No merely local or subsequent creations, or partial escapes from the diluvial catastrophe, will meet the case on scriptural grounds.*

America?" We learn, moreover, that the Carthagenians, who were acquainted with this transatlantic country, wished to conceal its situation, not only from a fear that their citizens would emigrate thither on account of its superior advantages, but also that they might secure a safe retreat in the event of an unsuccessful war. Possibly, this mysterious concealment by the Punic navigators may have occasioned the report and belief, that the entire island or continent had been lost or buried in the ocean. For when sought by others, it could not be found. (See Wesseling's edition, Vol. I. pp. 344, 345. See also a work ascribed to Aristotle, *De Mirabil. Auscult.*)

* "And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man; all, in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died." Gen. 7: 21, 22.

No embarrassment need be created by the fact, if *fact* it be, that some species are found on the one continent, which are unknown to the other. If any animals exist in America, for instance, which are not in the eastern hemisphere, they have become extinct in the latter since the period of their first migration hither. If any exist in the old world, which are not in the new, we have only to infer, either that they never came here, or that they have become extinct since their arrival. He would be a bold man, however, who should presume to dogmatize on this subject, until he may have become somewhat acquainted with the immense regions of both continents, which have hitherto escaped the notice alike of philosopher and trav-

Here, then, there would seem to be no alternative, but the unqualified admission, either that the continents were once united in the manner already indicated, or that Asia was formerly joined to America, in the more southern latitudes; and that the innumerable islands in the Pacific Ocean are the higher parts of the land which completed, above water, the connection between the old world and the new. Perhaps the earth was one continuous body of land for a century or two or three after the flood, and until after the dispersion of men and other animals over its surface; and that *then* occurred the grand physical division in the days of Peleg, by the breaking up of the exterior crust and the bursting forth of the central waters, which have ever since covered the larger portion of the globe, and thus effectually prevented a reunion of the scattered families, and hindered many a Nimrod or Alexander from conquering and laying waste the whole world. This latter suggestion, luckily, is secure from the assaults of the geologist, as it leaves him no visible *ground* to stand upon; and he will hardly search for it at the bottom of the ocean. The striking resemblance between the men and brutes of northeastern America, and northwestern Europe, shows the intimate connection which once subsisted between the continents in the higher latitudes, while Greenland, Iceland, Spitzbergen, etc., still remain both as evidences and monuments of the ancient physical union. Asia and America are sufficiently near to each other to enable us, by the occasional aid of a bridge of ice across Behring's straits, to meet the animal phenomena peculiar to that region.

Again, as it was manifestly one of the great purposes of the

eller. Perhaps, too, our zoology, our physiology, and our geology, may need some new modifications or *improvements*, before we can pronounce with certainty even upon the scanty materials already within the scope of scientific scrutiny.

If Moses has recorded the literal truth, namely, that every living creature upon the face of the whole earth perished by the flood, except such as were in the ark with Noah, as I doubt not he did, then we have a safe starting point, a fixed datum, from which and with which to commence our researches. Can it be demonstrated that any terrene animals *now* exist, which did not originate from those preserved in the ark? Nothing short of *demonstration* will invalidate the positive scriptural testimony in the slightest degree.

Almighty, that the whole earth should be peopled forthwith, so I suppose this purpose was effected in the usual way ; namely, by mingling mercies with judgments, parental tenderness with parental chastisements. Thus, by the confusion of tongues, men were *punished* and obliged to desist from a wicked enterprise, and to obey the divine command by emigrating in all directions to distant lands,—thence never to return. They went to the polar and to the equatorial regions ; to live, not to *perish*, amidst the snows and frosts of the one, and the burning sands and sultry blasts of the other. Did the Deity make no seasonable and kindly provision for these wandering outcasts ? Were they to incur the fearful hazards incident to the most violent changes of climate, food and habitudes of all sorts,—without preparation, without protection, without any knowledge or anticipation of the evils to be encountered ? I think not. What then was done to accommodate man to his new situation and altered circumstances ? Precisely what the exigency demanded and divine wisdom directed. Now it is remarkable, that no *new* variety of man has been discovered or gradually produced, within the period of authentic history. All the physical attributes which *now* distinguish the inhabitants of different countries, were just as palpable and as strongly marked when they first appear upon the stage. From Japan to Britain, from Nova Zembla to the Cape of Good Hope, man has been ever the same since first noticed in history. The *Caucasian* and the *Negro*, the *Malay* and the *Mongol*, have continued to be what they apparently were from the beginning. “ Can the Ethiopian change his skin ? ” had become a proverb among the most ancient nations, to denote an impossibility ;—clearly proving that the *black skin* was a well known fact, as well as an indelible characteristic of a portion of mankind. If nature, by a certain, regular, invariable process, has really effected all the existing diversities in the human family, she must have completed her work, or exhausted her resources, some three thousand years ago. For, assuredly, she has attempted nothing of the kind since. So, whether we ascribe the radical changes in question to a direct act of the Deity, like the confusion of speech, or to the operation of ordinary physical causes, we are constrained to admit that the whole was achieved at a very remote period ; and most probably, because then most needed, at the epoch of the dispersion. Such indeed was the very kind of adaptation to the peculiarities of their new position, which was called for

on the score both of necessity and benevolence. The American variety is doubtless as old as any other. It cannot be proved to be more recent. Nor are we to confound physiological with genealogical distinctions. The Phœnicians were of the Caucasian race,—but of the family of Ham, equally with the Hottentot and the American savage.

I do not mean to deny, nor do I wish to underrate the modifying or transforming influences of climate, food, manner of living, etc., upon the persons and constitutions of mankind. These are visible and obvious everywhere. I more than doubt, however, the theory which ascribes to these and similar causes all the distinct varieties in the human species. These appear to be permanent; and none of them can be traced to any definite historic origin. They never lose their specific attributes; they never glide into one another, nor exhibit anomalous forms or aspects, except by intermarriages. Were the negro to reside in England a thousand years, he would be a negro still, provided his race continued without mixture. The Caucasian, with the same proviso, would never become a negro under any circumstances or in any latitude. Partial and temporary changes are not to be confounded with hereditary and abiding differences. The complexion, for example, is easily affected. But restore the Caucasian of darkest hue to the home and habits of his fathers, and his children will be as fair as the rest of his kindred.* To this branch of the subject, I cannot of course

* I attach but little importance to the case of the black Jews, said to be found in India. They are probably a mixed race at most. The Jews never object to marriages with proselytes; and they have seldom been averse to the making of proselytes to their faith, when it could be done without danger. But it remains to be seen, whether even the black color would not disappear upon their return to a more congenial land; if they are indeed the genuine descendants of Israel, and if they have preserved the purity of the Hebrew blood amidst all their wanderings and adverse vicissitudes. This, after all, is but an instance of a partial change. Other similar cases may be disposed of in like manner. The great fact still remains, namely, that no *new variety* has been formed within the period of human history, and that none such is now in course of formation. With the mixed races, I repeat, the argument has no concern. *Amalgamation* may achieve miracles or create oddities, but it will never demolish history, philosophy or

do justice in a few sentences. I can neither present my own views fully, nor meet with becoming respect the widely different opinions of eminent philosophers and theologians.

I notice another objection which has been urged against the early peopling of America; namely, that the population of the old world was utterly inadequate to the purpose, within the days of Peleg, or even for many centuries afterwards. The fallacy of this objection has been shown by several learned men. Thus, Picart supposes that there might have been 432,000,000 of inhabitants upon the earth at the close of the first 150 years after the flood. Petavius estimates the population of the world at the birth of Peleg, or about 101 years after the flood, at 32,768. Bishop Cumberland gives 30,000 for the same date. According to Mede, there were or might have been at the time seven thousand *men*, besides women and children. Usher is of opinion, that in the 102d year after the flood, mankind might have increased to the number of 388,605 males, and as many females, or to a grand total of 777,210. This uncommon increase he ascribes to an extraordinary fecundity implied in that repeated command or blessing: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." (Gen. 9: 1.) If we allow this number to have doubled every twenty years, we shall find the amount within a fraction of 800,000,000 at the end of 300 years after the flood—or fifty years before the death of Noah, and forty before that of Peleg. Any approximation, however, to this vast multitude, would dissipate every objection to our argument. A few facts, out of many hundreds on record, will further illustrate and confirm the general views already presented.

Within the space of 215 years (Samaritan Pentateuch and St. Paul), the posterity of Jacob alone amounted to 603,550 males "from twenty years old and upward," all able to go forth to war, exclusive of the Levites. (Num. 1: 45, 46.) Add women and children, the aged and infirm, together with the entire tribe of Levi, and the whole multitude could not have

Scripture. Mere sporadical varieties, like the *Porcupine* family in England, and *Albinos* everywhere, are entitled to no special notice in connection with any theory. The black Portuguese and the bronzed Europeans, of all sorts, found in Africa and Asia, assuredly do not prove either a transition from one distinct physiological variety to another, or the creation of any new variety.

been less than three or four millions. Now they were not only slaves, but were subjected to the most rigorous treatment which a subtle and jealous policy could devise. They were commanded to destroy their own male infants; were crowded together in a corner of a populous empire; and were kept at hard labor under cruel taskmasters, whose main object was, not merely to extort the utmost profit from their service, but absolutely to crush them beneath the burdens and privations imposed.

Egypt, too, was proverbially populous. If we believe the account given by Diodorus of the 1700 male children born on the same day with Sesostrius, and afterwards made officers in his army, then it will follow, according to a computation made by Goguet on purpose to ridicule the story of the Greek historian, that there must have been at least sixty millions of inhabitants in Egypt at that early period. The army of Sesostrius, we are told, consisted of 600,000 foot and 24,000 horse, besides 27,000 armed chariots, with a fleet of 400 sail on the Red Sea, and as many perhaps in the Mediterranean. His conquests extended from the Ganges to the Danube. Herodotus expressly says: "The reign of Amasis was auspicious to the Egyptians, who under this prince could boast of twenty thousand cities well inhabited." (Euterpe, 177.) The statements of Herodotus and Diodorus may be treated as apocryphal; still, there is abundant evidence in Scripture that the population of Egypt could not have been greatly exaggerated. Pray, what else had the Egyptians to do, during the seven years' famine in Joseph's time, except to build cities? "And as for the people, he removed them to cities, from one end of the borders of Egypt, even to the other end thereof." (Gen. 47: 21.) "During the inundation of the Nile, the cities only are left conspicuous, appearing above the waters like the islands of the *Ægean* sea." (Herod. Euter. 97.) Moses and Herodotus agree very well, so far as cities are concerned. Egypt was of much larger extent in ancient times than at present. The shifting sands of the desert have been steadily encroaching upon its once fertile plains, and thereby diminishing its habitable territory, probably ever since the Persian conquest.

Not long after the coronation of Saul, "the Philistines gathered themselves together to fight with Israel, thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen, and people as the sand which is on the sea-shore in multitude." (1 Sam. 13: 5.) The Philistines possessed a narrow strip of land along the sea-coast,

in the southwest of Canaan, about 40 miles long, and 15 broad. "And it came to pass that in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem with 1200 chariots, and 60,000 horsemen, and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt." (2 Chron. 12: 2, 3.) Abijah, son of Rehoboam and grandson of Solomon, "set the battle in array with an army of valiant men of war, even 400,000 chosen men. Jeroboam also set the battle in array against him with 800,000 chosen men, being mighty men of valor." (2 Chron. 13: 3.) "And Asa had an army of men that bare targets and spears, out of Judah 300,000; and out of Benjamin, that bare shields and drew bows, 280,000: all these were mighty men of valor. And there came out against them Zerah the Ethiopian, with a host of a thousand thousand (i. e. a million) and 300 chariots; and came unto Mareshah." (2 Chron. 14: 8, 9.) According to Josephus, the whole number slain and taken prisoners by the Romans, during the seven years' war, was 1,462,000. What must not great Babylon have been at the height of its glory, when Seleucus Nicator, soon after the death of Alexander, could drain it of above 500,000 persons to people his new city of *Seleucia*, 45 miles northward? And this, too, after Babylon had been repeatedly taken, sacked and pillaged by hostile armies.

Let the reader carefully examine the scriptural statistics of the numerous armies, which converted the land of Judea into one great battle field, from the days of Joshua till the final destruction of Jerusalem; let him reflect upon the descriptions of Nineveh and Babylon, and of many other cities as well as kingdoms; let him abate as much from the letter of the text as Michaelis, Eichhorn and other wise biblical critics, as much as Gibbon, Niebuhr and other modern historians, as much as Hume, Kaimes and all the philosophers may summarily require; still, he cannot doubt but that Palestine and the neighboring countries once contained a population incomparably greater than at the present day, unparalleled, perhaps, in modern times, except in the empires of China and Japan.

Delhi, formerly the capital of Hindoostan, the boast of India, and the seat of the great Mogul, was estimated to contain two millions of inhabitants. *Pekin*, according to information given to Lord Macartney, contains no less than three millions. *Jeddo*, in 1812, as the Japanese stated to Golowan, had a population of ten millions! I do not vouch for the strict accuracy of

these figures; and the reporters cannot be easily questioned just now. *Thebes* was believed by the Egyptians, according to Diodorus, to have been the first city founded upon the earth; and we certainly have no account of any more ancient since the flood. Its population has been *calculated* from sundry hints and traditionary fragments, variously, at from one to twenty millions. Its most flourishing period preceded the building of Memphis. Its remains at this day testify that the oldest city in the world has probably never been surpassed in architectural grandeur; and that even its population may not have been greatly exaggerated by either poet or historian. Strabo says that, in his time, *Epirus* was thinly inhabited, but that according to Theopompus, whom he cites, it had once been extremely populous. Paulus Æmilius, we are told, destroyed seventy cities in Epirus, and took 150,000 prisoners. Who believed this? At length, M. Pouqueville, during a long residence in the dominions of the late Ali Pasha, actually discovered the remains of sixty-five cities, quite able to speak for themselves. I have somewhere seen an estimate which makes the population of the Roman empire, in the age of Augustus, to have been four thousand millions. Gibbon, I believe, reduces it to about one hundred and twenty millions in the reign of Claudius. Even this will do,—especially when it is recollected that, like Goguet, Millot, Hume, etc., the author of the “Decline and Fall” was always rather partial to the “rule of reduction.” But of such details and speculations there is no end.

If there be, however, any semblance of truth in the Bible and in other ancient authorities, we must concede that the whole world of which they treat was densely populated. They never speak of any country, indeed, which, at the time, was destitute of inhabitants, or which does not appear to have been well filled with inhabitants. Sesostris and Alexander, though a thousand years asunder, found the far east teeming with a population as redundant as ever swarmed upon the banks of the Nile. The Roman conquerors experienced no lack of hostile numbers in their marches through the remotest and most ungenial climes. In Africa, in Asia, in Gaul, Germany, Britain, Scythia, everywhere, they met and encountered host after host; and the wonder is, after reading their own accounts of the battles and the slain, that the earth had not been utterly depopulated and converted into a dreary wilderness.

I cannot doubt, therefore, that the world was vastly more

population during the whole period which intervened from the age of Noah to that of Christendom, that it has been at any time since. Population diminished rapidly after the decline and fall of the Roman empire. It continued to diminish during the dark ages. And it has been on the advance only within the last two or three centuries. I speak chiefly of countries known to history. As to the Chinese and some other oriental nations, they may have suffered less in the respect; and they may still serve as a specimen and index of what the population of other nations may once have been. China at this day, with a territory considerably smaller than that of the United States, is supposed to contain nearly half the population actually allotted to the whole world. They are, not the most industrious, intelligent, energetic, happy, peaceful, temperate, long-living, and good-natured people on the globe. And they would be the most respectable sect of Christians were we to find them. What would be the population of the earth, if it were everywhere equal to that of China? Why may it not thus have been? Why should it not thus be? The vast conquest, nay, the possession of such an extent would multiply the Mahomedan forces, with all its mechanical, agricultural, and mineral resources, and military power, and worldly conclusions. Hardly, it has not yet reached or approached the extent of the Colonial Empire.

I think, then, we may warily conclude that, before the death of Teleg (according to my chronological account) the earth might have been peopled throughout its entire extent; and that there were, at the birth of Teleg, inhabitants enough to furnish colonies for every principal division or important locality upon the globe.

The Jewish, Egyptian, and Assyrian is generally acknowledged to regard to a large portion of the (so called) extraordinary facts, passages, events and incidents mentioned by ancient writers, have resulted from the prevalence of groundless assumptions, that they all pertain to a remote and barbarous age; and are therefore to be regarded as fables or exaggerations. Their hypotheses about the primitive state is a perpetual multiplying-chain of every kind. Until they stand right, they will never discover accurately or distinctly the truth, the path, or the character of simplicity. Their many theories and assumptions flow from thence. It extends from their judgment a vortex as extensive with all sorts and degrees of evidence. Not only must

every ancient profane document yield to this arbitrary test, but the Bible itself cannot escape their critical tortures, or conjectural emendations, or supercilious disregard. It constrains them to "beg the question," to reason in a circle, and to avail themselves of "trifles light as air" to uphold their baseless fabric. The Greeks and the Romans are their standard of perfection, by which to measure all other ancient nations; and the remoter were any of these, in either time or space, so much the worse is the sentence awarded. Because the Greeks and Romans did not know *this*, or could not do *that*, therefore the Phœnicians and Egyptians must have been still more ignorant and less capable. And by the same rule, the contemporaries of Noah and Adam were little better than children and infants. The old Egyptians could not construct an arch; *ergo* they were but clumsy novices in architecture, and consequently in all the arts. True, they were able, without mechanical science, and by mere brute force, "to pile Ossa upon Pelion," but too stupid to build a Dutch oven or a cabbage vault; when, lo! the arch is discovered in the catacombs and among the mummies of the Pharaohs, in the temples which for ages had been forgotten and buried beneath the sands of the desert, in the bosom of the great pyramid, which had grown hoary with years, centuries before the Parthenon or Coliseum had been dreamt of! The aborigines of America knew nothing of the arch or of iron, nothing of butter, cheese, roast-beef or wheaten bread; therefore they must have sprung from an ancestry equally rude and helpless; or they must have come hither before those wonderful mysteries had been revealed to mankind in the old world!

Here I may add, that theories about the American Indians are generally formed from exceedingly imperfect data—often from no data at all—and that the same facts and observations sometimes lead to directly conflicting theories. Thus, I am acquainted with intelligent individuals in Tennessee, who have resided many years among the Cherokees and profess to know them thoroughly, who differ widely in their deductions respecting their origin and national affinities. One, a most respectable clergyman, at present a citizen of Nashville, is perfectly satisfied from his own personal investigations among the natives, that they are the genuine descendants of Israel's long-lost ten tribes. Of the same opinion was a late learned judge of our supreme state court. Both have written ably in support of

their views ; which accord, in the main, with those of Adair and Boudinot. Others refer them, as well as the adjacent tribes, to the nomadic races of Northern Asia ; and others again, to the Southern Malays. I have been strongly inclined to the latter opinion myself, both from a slight inspection of a few Indians and still fewer Malays at different times and places, and from the statements and reasoning of more competent observers. It is probable that Asia and Europe, as well as Africa, have contributed more or less to the population of this continent. How do we know after all that the *Mongols* are not descended from Ham ? I mean the Mongols of the naturalist, as distinguished from the Indo-Germanic hordes and Caucasian Tartars, with whom they have been long mingled and often confounded. It might be rather difficult also to prove that the *Malays* are of the Semitic stock, or that they too are not the posterity of Ham. It would be curious, if all the degraded and *degrading* varieties of the human species, namely, the Negro, the Mongol, the Malayan, and the American, should appear at length to belong to the great family of the African patriarch.

But it was not my purpose in these notes to propound, much less to advocate any new or peculiar theory. On the whole, however, I favor the hypothesis, that the indigenous Americans have occupied this continent from the earliest times—that they came hither at the epoch of the grand dispersion—that they constitute one of the original varieties which have existed ever since—that they are presumptively of the *Hamite* family, and are now experiencing the effects of the divine denunciation uttered by Noah against their wicked progenitor.

Their high antiquity cannot be doubted or disputed, unless a similar race can be found in the other hemisphere, from which they might have been derived at a more recent date. Their savage character and condition can be as easily accounted for as the degeneracy of their kindred in Africa or of any other portion of the human family. No people, *known in history* to have been civilized, have ever become absolute savages in *their own country* ; though many have sunk into the lowest depths of ignorance and wretchedness ; the modern Egyptians, Syrians, Arabs, Greeks, for example. Still none of these are savages. The savage state preceded all history except the Bible ; but it did not precede civilization. That Noah and his immediate descendants were civilized—that their posterity, who never removed from the father-land or who settled in the countries ad-

jacent, were civilized, and have continued to be civilized to this day, though degraded in all respects—is attested by Scripture, by history, and by all observation. It was the unfortunate destiny of the colonists who wandered far, and in small companies, and in destitute circumstances, and who were suddenly cut off from all intercourse with their home and with their brethren, to become savages. It was one of the first and most disastrous results of the dispersion of mankind, and a part of the punishment inflicted, we may presume, on the most guilty among the numerous transgressors who provoked the divine displeasure. And if the principal or greatest sufferers in this respect were children of Ham, may we not still witness the literal fulfilment of the patriarchal malediction throughout America, as well as in Africa.

Whatever indications exist or may yet be discovered of a former civilization, I repeat, can have no connection with the aborigines. They are to be regarded as the work of a different and superior race—of temporary occupants, it may be, or of trading adventurers—or, at most, of merely local settlers, who never extended their influence or conquests over the wide land. The Phœnicians were a trading, not a conquering people. They built cities, at various distant ports, for commercial purposes; and they would have pursued the same policy in Mexico and Peru, had they ever learned the way to those golden regions. The Chinese and Hindus, probably, would have acted in the same fashion. But let the facts be first ascertained, and then probably there will be less scope for conjecture and castle-building.

ARTICLE II.

THE NESTORIANS.

By Edward Robinson, D. D., Professor of Bib. Lit., Union Theol. Sem., New-York.

The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes ; containing evidence of their identity, etc. By Asahel Grant, M. D. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1841. 12mo. pp. 385.

[Concluded from Vol. VI., page 482.]

IN Chap. IX., Dr. Grant takes up the social and domestic customs of the Nestorians ; of which he says, that “ a particular account of these would differ but little from a correct transcript of Hebrew archaeology,” p. 238. But he also admits, that “ there are few customs mentioned in the Bible which cannot find a parallel, or, at least, a tolerable similitude, among some of the various nations of the East.” We must therefore confess ourselves to be of the number of those, with whom “ it will avail little even to show that all these customs find [such a] a parallel among the Nestorian Christians ;” although our minds are assuredly not “ fortified by preconceived opinions regarding the ten tribes.” We certainly do think, that all the social and domestic habits enumerated by the author belong to *oriental* life, rather than to *Nestorian* life ; and therefore, while their total absence would be proof positive that a people was not oriental and consequently not Jewish, their presence nevertheless in a given nation cannot prove this one oriental people alone to be Jewish, more than another.

Thus the *forms of salutation* cited on p. 239, all lie in the genius of the oriental character and languages, from Africa to Persia, and are found almost in like strength in modern Spain, the legacy probably of the Moors. The same falling upon the neck, the same kissing and weeping, occurs every day among the Arabs ; and we have even seen it in a very similar degree in the

mansions and also in the streets of Paris, Leipzig, and Vienna. *Hospitality* is a universal oriental attribute, known and read of all men; and just so even in Montenegro, hospitality "is in the fullest sense of the word at home. Every one regards it as the highest joy and honor, to receive and entertain a guest in the best style."* The *dress* of the Nestorians, Dr. G. says, is in "striking conformity to that of the Jews about them," p. 241. But does this show that it has any relation to the dress of the *ancient* Hebrews? We are more inclined to suppose that the dress of the Jews, here as elsewhere, is probably conformed to that of the people about them, as is very much the case in Jerusalem and throughout the rest of the oriental world. The same *employments*, too, which are here enumerated among the Nestorians, may be seen throughout the east; females everywhere bring water, glean in the fields, spin while holding the spindle and distaff in their hands, grind at the mill, bray wheat in a mortar, churn the milk, use bottles of skins, etc. etc. And this is true not only of all the east, but generally also among the Slavic tribes of Servia and Montenegro. So too in regard to all the other customs of agriculture and domestic life enumerated on p. 243, there is not one which does not characterize almost every other oriental people, quite as distinctly as the Nestorians.

Dr. Grant cites particularly the Nestorian customs relative to *marriage* as peculiarly Jewish, p. 213; while to us they appear to be not only *oriental*, in the widest sense of the term, but are found also to a very considerable extent in different parts of Europe. Thus in Montenegro, we have the same custom, that the choice of a wife or husband does not depend on the parties themselves, but is decided by their parents; and the formal suit is made, not by the young man himself, but by his father or sometimes by an agent. The bride, as in the east, brings no dowry; but on the contrary, the bridegroom must pay a sum of money to her parents, and make presents to her relatives. In the beginning of the present century, the marriage price of a wife had become so high in Servia that no poor man could marry; this was remedied by the celebrated leader Czerny George, who decreed, that not more than a ducat should be demanded for a maiden. When a maiden is once promised, neither party may draw back; they are betrothed, and to break off this relation would be infamous and a

* Wuk Steph. Montenegro, etc. p. 71.

just cause of family war. The marriage takes place weeks or months afterwards.* This custom of betrothment, which of course was unknown to Dr. G. in his own country, appears to have struck him particularly among the Nestorians. He was probably not acquainted with the fact of its wide prevalence in the east, and likewise on the continent of Europe. Throughout all Germany, the parties are in like manner betrothed, and the *Brautstand* usually continues for several months and often for some years. The parties formerly exchanged, and perhaps sometimes now exchange, rings under the sanction of the pastor; they become thus affianced; and regarding each other as future husband and wife, they often enjoy in this relation the happiest season of life.†

The author further lays stress upon the fact, that the *wedding-festival* among the Nestorians usually continues through a whole week, as among the Hebrews; and also, that the *companions* of the bridegroom are in attendance and the bridal procession conducted with great display; p. 247. But in Servia also, the wedding continues through a week; and both there and in Montenegro, the friends of the bridegroom repair in gay procession with flags to the bride's house, in order to conduct her with pomp and rejoicing to her future home. She is there received, not indeed with handfuls of raisins and other fruit or grain thrown over her, but with peculiar ceremonies; which however are less formal and significant than those that accompany her departure from her father's door.‡ The *chastity* of females is in like manner a high point of honor among both Nestorians and Montenegrins; and the seduction of a maiden, or her rejection after marriage on false accusation, is among the latter a sufficient ground for a feud of blood.§ Infants too in Montenegro, as well as among the Nestorians, are nursed till they are three years old; and sometimes, with a dispensation from the priests, this is continued till the age of five or six years.||

The *pastoral occupation* of the Nestorians gives to them, in the

* Wuk Steph. Montenegro, etc. p. 77, 78.

† See the description of such a German betrothment in Goethe's *Hermann and Dorothea*, near the end.

‡ Wuk Steph. *ib.* pp. 83—88.

§ Dr. Grant, p. 247. Wuk Steph. pp. 72, 94.

|| Wuk Steph. p. 97.

mind of Dr. G., a striking similarity to the Hebrews of old. He assumes, "that the Israelites, though they paid some necessary attention to agriculture, were, as a people, a nation of shepherds;" p. 249. Now this was most certainly true of them in their earlier history; but it appears to be no less true, that one great and permanent object of the Mosaic legislation and of the whole course of God's dealings with his ancient people, was to convert them, as a nation, from a nomadic and pastoral life, into a people of fixed abodes and agricultural pursuits. And although from the nature of the country on the east of the Jordan, and also in the southern deserts and the adjacent rocky tracts, the Hebrews and the Moabites, like the Arabs of the present day, continued to have numerous flocks of cattle and sheep and goats; yet even now, after all the desolations of Palestine, one needs only to look abroad over its rich plains, and to notice everywhere on the mountains the traces of former thrift and cultivation, in the remains of ancient villages occurring at every half mile, and the rocky hills laid off in terraces to their very summits, to perceive at once that the purpose of the Most High was accomplished, and that the Hebrews did become essentially an agricultural nation. The process by which Dr. G. transports the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half of Manasseh, with all their multitudes of flocks and herds across the desert in a year and a half, to the region now occupied by the Nestorians, who of course must necessarily be their descendants (pp. 250-253), is as perfect a specimen of castle-building, as we remember to have seen. It is founded on nothing, absolutely nothing, except the specification of 1 Chr. 5: 26, that these tribes were carried away into Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and the river Gozan,—of which places we shall speak further on. Here too again our friends of Montenegro, whose chief wealth consists in flocks of sheep and goats,* might put in their claim to a Hebrew lineage on the same ground; as might also the pastoral portions of Switzerland and Spain.

We have thus gone over all the main points of *circumstantial* evidence adduced by Dr. G. in support of his theory; and must leave it to the reader to decide, whether this evidence is any thing more than "based upon customs, etc., which are *primitive* rather than peculiarly Jewish: customs similar to those found among the Arabs and other eastern nations."

* Wuk Stephan. p. 61.

It is here also not unimportant to remark, that in the second and third centuries there existed throughout all the churches a tendency to lose sight of the distinction between the economies of the Old and New Testament, and to overlay the liberty and simplicity of the latter with institutions and observances drawn from the former. Thus there was introduced into Christianity a separate priesthood sustained by tithes; a division of the church-buildings, resembling that of the temple; the offering of incense; and many other rites and ceremonies and customs, borrowed from the Mosaic ritual and laws.* All this was adopted from the Old Testament, as the authoritative rule of the Jewish economy, and became current more or less throughout Christendom to the present day. Most obviously, however, it all affords no evidence whatever of any identity of lineage between Christians and Jews.

We have yet to take up the arguments which Dr. Grant derives from the language, the traditions, and the country of the Nestorians.

The Nestorians, it appears, urge the resemblance of their own *language* to the Hebrew, as an evidence of their descent from the Jews.† The argument is dangerous; for it proves rather the ignorance and credulity of those who thus employ it. It proves also far too much for their purpose, or that of Dr. Grant; since, allowing for it the force which they claim, then all other Christians of the Syriac church, who still know no other than the Syriac liturgy and church books, must also for the same reason be of Jewish descent. Such are the Jacobite Syrians and the Maronites of Mount Lebanon. Nor does it avail to say, that these Christians no longer *speak* the Syriac; for the evidence is unquestionable, that the Syriac was once their vernacular tongue, and has only been supplanted by the kindred Arabic in no very remote centuries. Indeed, the Syriac is to this day spoken in a corrupt form in a few villages around Malula in the north Damascus;‡ and it would be interesting, had we the materials, to trace the relation between this dialect and that of the Nestorians. Further, the argument cannot be limited to the Syriac tongue; but would prove, in itself, with equal strength, that the many millions to whom the Arabic language is vernacular, must also be descended from the Hebrew stock.

* See Neander's *Kirchengesch.* Bd. I. p. 297-299.

† Perkins on the Nestorians, *Am. Bibl. Repos.* Jan. 1841. p. 2.

‡ *Bibl. Research. in Palest.* III. App. p. 172. Compare Browne's *Travels*, p. 405. Volney *Voyage*, I. p. 231, seq.

But Dr. Grant derives what he supposes to be a still stronger argument, from the close resemblance between the spoken language of the Nestorians, which may properly be called modern Syriac, and the language spoken by the Jews resident among them. This resemblance is so strong, that individuals of the two races are able to understand each other without difficulty, each speaking his own tongue. This Jewish idiom Mr. Perkins calls a "corrupt dialect of the Hebrew;" Messrs. Holladay and Stocking regard it and the modern Syriac "as different dialects of the same language;" while Dr. Grant, more in accordance with his theory, pronounces "the vulgar Syriac to be the vernacular tongue of the Jews, and to be spoken as exclusively in their families as it is in the domestic circle of the Nestorians."* Of this Jewish dialect there appears to be no written documents whatever; so that we are without any means of ascertaining its real character. In the mean time, whether it be of Syriac or Hebrew origin, there are two ways of accounting for its existence in that region.

One, and perhaps not the least unlikely, is the supposition, that these resident Jews may have adopted the language of the country, giving to it certain features of dialectical difference. It is at least the characteristic of all other Jews, in every nation where they have become domesticated, thus to conform in general to the language of those around them; while they nevertheless give to it a peculiar form. Thus in Germany, the common Jews everywhere speak a German so corrupt and disfigured, chiefly by Hebrew or Rabbinic words, as to be scarcely intelligible to the Germans themselves. In Spain likewise, the Hebrew-Spanish has assumed a character so definite, as to have spread into the Levant and become the leading dialect of the Jews in Turkey. It is a sort of mongrel tongue; yet so important and so current, that Mr. Schauffler has translated and is now printing in it an edition of the Scriptures, for the use of the multitudes of Jews who use it, but can read neither Hebrew nor Spanish. The supposition certainly does not lie very remote, that something of the same kind may have taken place among the Jews mingled with the Nestorians (if their language be in fact the same); where a general affinity of language and other circumstances, would naturally lead to less striking diversities of dialect, than in the examples above given.

* See the former part of this article, Vol. VI. p. 460. Dr. Grant, pp. 180, 181.

But should it hereafter turn out, that the language of these Jews has a nearer relationship to the Hebrew, or rather the Chaldaic, this might be readily accounted for in another way. In connection with the exile, the ancient Jews, as we know, laid aside the common use of the Hebrew tongue, and adopted the Aramean, the language of their conquerors, among whom they dwelt. In the times of the New Testament, the Aramean, as we know, had extended itself as the dialect of common life, from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Tigris at least, and probably much further; except as the Greek was also partially spoken in Palestine and elsewhere. Of this early Aramean, no documents survive from the heathen nations to whom it was vernacular; all we know of it has come down to us through the Jews and Christians.

From the Jews we have in this dialect portions of the books of Daniel and Ezra, which exhibit a strong coloring of the Hebrew; and also the Targums, or translations of parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, apparently much nearer to the language of the common people. These documents extend over a long period, from the exile to several centuries after Christ; and constitute all our materials for a knowledge of the *Chaldaic* tongue so called, or in other words the Jewish Aramean. The language of the learned Jews of the great school of Tiberias in the third and fourth centuries, as it appears in the Jerusalem Talmud, exhibits the same general features, with a constant tendency to further decay; and this was continued in the still greater school of Babylon, whence the Babylonian Talmud emanated about the sixth century. Similar schools of Jewish learning flourished in Mesopotamia and Persia as far down as into the eleventh century.* So late as after the middle of the twelfth, Benjamin of Tudela found at Mosul seven thousand Jews with Rabbins claiming to be of the race of David at their head; and at Bagdad he speaks of various academies or councils of Rabbins, over whom presided a Rabbi Daniel with the title of "Prince of the Captivity;" apparently a worthy predecessor of our occidental "Judge of Israel."† The same species of Jewish learning and learned schools revived and flourished after the crusades, at Safed, in the north of Palestine.‡

* Nordheimer's Hist. Sketch of the Rabbinical Schools in Persia, Am. Bibl. Repos. July 1841, pp. 154—163.

† Benj. de Tud. par Baratier, pp. 131, 146.

‡ Bibl. Res. in Palest. III. p. 331, seq.

The documents of the Aramean which we have from Christian hands, extend down from the *Peshito* or ancient Syriac version of the Scriptures (including the New Testament) through a long series of writers, from the venerable Ephrem Syrus in the fourth century to Bar Hebraeus in the thirteenth. This is the common *Syriac* tongue, so called, or Christian Aramean; and there is no evidence either in its history or character, that it originally differed from the Chaldaic, except in the alphabet; like the Servian and Illyrian of the present day. But in a course of ages, differences would naturally and unavoidably arise in the language, as employed and written by different races and the followers of different religions; and thus dialects would arise; just as in modern times they have arisen among the various Slavic tribes out of the old Slavonic, the common source of all. Still, these idioms, although quite distinct, would naturally retain so much affinity, that the common people of the two races would not be hindered from readily understanding one another, while each spoke his own dialect. Such at least is the case among the various Slavic races; the Servian can hold converse with the Bohemian; and the Pole with the Russian; and we know too, notwithstanding the apparent diversity of the written languages of Denmark and Sweden, that the common people of the two countries are daily in the habit of communicating understandingly with each other, through the medium each of his own tongue.

We have thus traced the history of the two great divisions of the Aramean, in order to show, that while the Nestorians, as we know, have a corrupted dialect of the Syriac, it would be perfectly analogous, should the Jews among them,—the relatives, at least, if not the descendants, of those of Mesopotamia and Persia,—be found to speak a corrupt Chaldaic; and should this turn out to be so, this circumstance would be sufficient to account for all the facts presented in the case.

We do not think it necessary to travel through the conjectural argument of Dr. Grant, by which he persuades himself, that “it is not difficult to account for the fact, that the ten tribes, before their captivity, spoke the Syriac language!” p. 187. We would merely remark, that this *fact* rests on no foundation whatever; for all the historical testimony extant, is on the other side. It is a mere airy nothing; in which, if in nothing else, the author certainly has the merit of entire originality.

We turn now to the *tradition* current among the Nestorians, that they are the descendants of the ten tribes. "Common, and perhaps universal tradition among themselves, claims the Jews as their ancestors."* This would indeed be a singular and striking circumstance, did we not find similar traditions among other tribes of interior Asia, where they can be still less readily accounted for, and yet seem to prove nothing. Some of these we shall refer to afterwards. It may here be proper to remark, that in the east, and especially in the Christian churches of the east, there exist multitudes of traditions, referring back to the very earliest ages, and often recounting the origin and spread of their own communion and rites. Of these traditions, many bear upon their face the stamp of legendary invention; while others, having perhaps a slight foundation in truth, have been dressed out with legendary circumstances, until the little which was once true, is no longer to be recognized.

An example or two may suffice to show the nature and value of these traditions. In Palestine, for instance, every ancient church is uniformly referred by priests and people to the munificence of the empress Helena; and if we take the pains to examine the Greek historians of the middle ages, we find it recorded, that the devout Helena did actually provide for the erection of more than thirty churches in the Holy Land.† But if we go back to earlier writers, to Eusebius and others who were cotemporary with, or lived just after Helena, we find them utterly silent as to any such extensive munificence on her part; and with one voice they relate only that she built churches at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives, and perhaps took part in that of the Holy Sepulchre.‡ In like manner, the church thus erected by Helena upon the summit of the Mount of Olives, was placed there in consequence of a tradition, that this was the place of our Lord's ascension,—a tradition which existed at least as early as the third century, when pilgrimages were already made to that spot. Yet the tradition was and is necessarily false; because it contradicts the express words of the sacred writer; who declares that our Lord led his disciples out as far

* Perkins in Am. Bib. Repos. Jan. 1841, p. 2. Smith and Dwight, II. p. 242.

† So Niceph. Callist. about A. D. 1300. H. E. VIII. 30.

‡ See Bibl. Researches in Palest. II. pp. 16, 17.

as to Bethany, and was *there* parted from them and carried up into heaven.*—Hundreds of other traditions, both in the mouths of the people and on the pages of ecclesiastical history, are of a like character; and indeed nothing is so difficult, in searching out historical facts respecting the primitive churches, as the sifting of the materials, in order to determine what is true and what legendary.

The Nestorians have also their ecclesiastical traditions; which, in common with those of other oriental churches, ascribe to the apostle Thomas, the planting of Christianity in Parthia, Persia, and even India. This refers to themselves, not as Nestorians, but as a portion of the great oriental church universal; and is nothing more nor less, than the tradition preserved throughout that church by writers of an early age. Indeed, so early was the story current, that we find among the apocryphal books of the New Testament not only a “Gospel of Thomas,” and also the “Acts of Thomas;” but also in the “History of the Apostles” ascribed to Abdias, we have apparently the first trace of the traditions of later ages.† These writings are now universally regarded as spurious and legendary; and the traditions which they and other writings record respecting Thomas are also at variance with each other;‡ so that even if we admit a foundation of truth, in supposing that the apostle Thomas may not improbably at some time have gone eastward, yet these traditions certainly cannot and do not avail, with any sound critic, for *proof* of that or any other historical event. It is not surprising, indeed, that these traditions should still be current among the Nestorians; since they have been repeated by Syrian writers down to Bar Hebraeus in the the thirteenth century; and have become incorporated into the literature and faith of all who use that language.§

Still less does the argument respecting the early gathering of these churches, raised by Dr. G. upon the basis of these traditions, and, as he thinks, upon the testimony of Scripture, bear the test of examination. After the death of Stephen, and be-

* Ibid. II. p. 77.

† See Fabricius Codex Apocr. Nov. Test. P. I. II. Acta Thomæ, ed. J. C. Thilo, Leipz. 1823.

‡ Thilo in Acta Thomæ, c. 1. Winer Bibl. Realw. II. p. 714.

§ See Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Tom. III.

fore the conversion of Cornelius, the disciples had been "scattered abroad," and went "*everywhere* preaching the word," to none of course but Jews. Hence, Dr. G. argues, that they probably went also to the Jews (of the ten tribes as he supposes) in Assyria, Parthia and Media, some of whom had been at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. He asserts, that "if we had no other proof, these considerations should satisfy us, that the ten tribes had the gospel preached unto them almost immediately after the great pentecostal assemblage at Jerusalem." But he finds still further proofs, and that "beyond a doubt," in the traditions above mentioned, which give the very names of Thomas and the other disciples who thus preached the word in these parts; pp. 257, 258. Unfortunately, however, St. Luke affirms only, that after the death of Stephen "they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, *except* the apostles."* Of course the apostle Thomas could not at this time well have gone to Assyria. Besides, although it is said that they went "*everywhere*," yet this again is afterwards qualified: "Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phœnicia and Cyprus and Antioch, preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only."† The implication is here certainly very strong, that they did not at this time go to Mesopotamia.

Let all this be as it may, we have seen the nature of all these early traditions; and when we now turn to the tradition of the Nestorians claiming a descent from the ten tribes, we are first struck with the somewhat remarkable fact, that there is no evidence of its antiquity. Dr. G. and the Nestorians themselves admit that there are now no "written documents in support of these traditions;" p. 145. We may say further, that apparently none have ever existed; for in all the long series of Syrian and Nestorian writers enumerated and referred to by Assemani, there appears not to be the slightest hint of any claim or tradition of the kind. This affords at least a strong presumption, that the tradition in question is of a later date.

We find, further, similar traditions among tribes in other parts of inner Asia. The Afghans have in former years been brought into notoriety, in consequence of their supposed resemblance to the Jews in features and customs; and because

* Acts 8: 1, 4.

† Acts 11: 19.

too (according to Mr. Wolf), they have a "tradition of their being descendants of the Jews," though this is not general; while, according to others, they claim to be the posterity of king Saul.* The ferocious Tamerlane boasted, that he was descended from the tribe of Dan; and the present deposed king of Georgia, who is a pensioner of Persia, in like manner considers himself and family to be descendants of the Danites.† The Lesghy tribes, to whom allusion has already been made, a bigoted Muslim race of banditti on the west of the Caspian, derive also their lineage from the tribe of Dan, and acknowledge the Jews to be the original inhabitants of their mountains.‡ Now the prevalence of all such traditions, proves one of two things. If one is unfounded and of late origin, then all are liable to be equally unfounded and modern. If one is well founded, ancient and authentic, then all may equally claim to be well founded, ancient and authentic. There is no good reason for singling out the Nestorians and yielding evidence to their tradition, and not to those of the rest; while there exist various circumstances among the former, which would lead us to expect that such a tradition, when once it had obtained footing among them, would be wrought into a more probable and historical form than elsewhere. A secluded and Christian people, having the Scriptures before them, and dwelling in their ignorance and credulity upon the suggested affinity, would find no difficulty in carrying out the parallel and adorning the tradition with all the requisite circumstances. How often are we ourselves, as Christians, addressed as "the seed of Abraham," "children of the covenant," "sons of Israel?" And how natural would it be, among a simple and ignorant people, in times of deep darkness, if not to pass over at once from this figurative sense to a literal acceptance, yet to convert such an idea, once planted in their minds, by degrees into an article of traditional belief.

But the argument from this tradition of the Nestorians is strengthened, in the apprehension of the author, by the fact, that "the Jews who dwell among them acknowledge the relationship;" and also "some of the learned Muhammedans

* See Dr. Grant, p. 136. Rennell, Geog. Syst. of Herodot. p. 390.

† Samuel, the Remnant Found, p. 16.

‡ Ibid. p. 46.

testify to the Hebrew origin of the Nestorians; pp. 147, 152. As to the Muhammedans, Dr. G. himself says, that "they are not all informed on the subject," and assigns several reasons why "we cannot expect the Persians generally to be in possession of definite information respecting the ancestry of their Christian neighbors." He might have given many more good reasons; for to one in any degree acquainted with the character of Muhammedan mind and learning, there will be little room for question, that this Muhammedan testimony is merely re-echoed from that of the Nestorians themselves.

In regard to the admission of the resident Jews, Dr. G. lays upon it a more decided and confident stress. "They admit that the Nestorians are as truly the descendants of the Israelites as themselves. Do they not know?" p. 147. "Such testimony, and from such a source, requires no comment. What court of justice would reject it?" p. 151. We, nevertheless, incline to think, that almost any court of justice would be disposed to ask a few questions before they even admitted these witnesses to the stand,—questions which Dr. G. has entirely overlooked. But taking the testimony just as he presents it, what is its amount? Simply, that one dark and benighted people yields credence to an idea (not an ancient tradition) current among another people almost equally benighted. The human mind, in this dark state, we know, is prone to credulous superstition and legendary invention;* and what one asserts, another is not very likely to contradict. But what, after all, is such testimony worth? Let it be, that some of these Jews may perhaps have been grubbing after the lost ten tribes beyond the Euphrates, and may have taken up the conceit that both they and the Nestorians are descended from them; what does this prove? Because M. M. Noah and other Jews in this country admit and maintain the American Indians to be the posterity of the ten tribes, we are not aware that their testimony, as Jews, adds any thing to the force of the rest of the evidence.

* See an instance of this in an anecdote of the life of our Saviour, among the Nestorians themselves, *Miss. Herald*, Aug. 1840, p. 308. In like manner, the worthy Peter Parley came near being regarded by the Nestorians as a saint; because, "as they thought, such boundless knowledge as his book displays could be possessed by no mortal less than a saint." *Ibid.* Sept. 1838, p. 324.

But we too have further one or two questions to ask. This assent of the resident Jews,—is it traditional on their part, or is it merely that of individual opinion? If the latter, it is of course worth nothing. If it be traditional, then, in order to be of any value, this tradition must be shown to go back to an early age; and in that case there probably would be some trace of it in the many volumes of Jewish writings and traditions, which have come down to us from the interior of Asia. But nothing of all this exists, or is pretended to exist.

Again: Who are these Jews themselves, and whence their lineage? They are doubtless to be regarded as descended from that people, who from the fourth to the eleventh century flourished and had celebrated schools in Mesopotamia and Persia. This is the natural inference from their locality, and also from the fact that they follow the ordinances and traditions of the Talmud and the other Jews. But who were then these ancestors? Hitherto, all history, and the Jews themselves, have supposed them to be *Jews*; that is to say, descendants of Jews of the same stock with those of the Palestine of the New Testament; of whom Josephus says there were in his day great multitudes living in Babylon, Mesopotamia and beyond the Euphrates; and whom neither he nor any one else seems to have regarded, as having any special connection with the ten tribes of the earlier captivity.* Yet Dr. G. at once assumes it as a fact not to be questioned, that these modern Jews in and around the country of the Nestorians, are the posterity of a part of the ten tribes carried away by the kings of Assyria; p. 148. Now, if this be a fact, we should like to have seen at least some evidence in support of it. None however is brought forward, except the incidental remark, that these Jews themselves claim to be thus descended from the ten tribes. This circumstance, too, rests solely on the authority of Dr. Grant; the other missionaries appear to make no allusion to it, and the testimony of Messrs. Smith and Dwight goes rather to contradict it.† We

* Joseph. Ant. XV. 2. 2. ib. 3. 1. XVIII. 9. 1.

† In speaking of the region of Salmas, Mr. Smith says: "The Jews of Persia generally are the most ignorant, demoralized and oppressed part of the community. They are said to have neither tradition nor history to inform them when their ancestors came into the country. We naturally look among them for the remains of the ten tribes; but if such were their origin, all traces of it have been effaced. They now resemble

have already seen how such a conceit might readily take its rise.—The great question, as to the lineage of the earlier Jews of Mesopotamia and Persia, we shall recur to further on.

We have probably said enough to show, that no very great stress can properly be laid upon this tradition of the Nestorians; or, at least, that it cannot be regarded as *proving* incontrovertibly their Hebrew descent.

There remains to be considered the argument arising from the *country* of the Nestorians, so far as their territory can be shown to be identical with that to which the ten tribes were carried away. To this evidence, so far as it justly bears upon the subject, we have no objection to urge, but regard it rather as *prima facie* the strongest topic of all brought forward by Dr. Grant. Even here, however, the author, by claiming too much, weakens the force of his argument; for not satisfied with what is probably true, that the territory of the Nestorians may be in part *one* of the regions to which the Israelites were deported, he insists upon finding within their limits *all* the places to which the tribes were thus transferred. On this point, however, there is at least room for doubt.

It is twice related, that in the ninth year of Hoshea, king of Israel, and the sixth of Hezekiah, king of Judah, or about B. C. 720, Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, took the city of Samaria, “and carried away Israel into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and on Habor, a river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.”* About fifteen or sixteen years earlier, Tiglath-Pileser had made an inroad upon the regions around the northern and eastern parts of the Lake of Tiberias, and carried away in like manner the people of Naphtali and Galilee and Gilead,—the latter occupied by the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh,—“and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and the river of Gozan, unto this day.”†

their brethren elsewhere, etc. . . . They speak the language of the country; but respecting the common use of a vulgar Hebrew among them, we received different statements.” Researches II. p. 196.

* 2 K. 17: 6. 18: 9—11. The English version has “in Habor *ly* the river of Gozan;” but the Hebrew in both places reads:

וּבְחָבוֹר נְחַר גּוֹזָן.

† 2 K. 15: 29. 1 Chr. 5: 26. The English version in the latter passage has: “to Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan;” but here too the reading of the Hebrew is:

לְחָלֶת וְחָבוֹר וְחָרָא וְנְחַר גּוֹזָן.

Here it is obvious that the regions to which the Israelites were thus brought at different times, are in general the same ; while there is, nevertheless, a certain difference in the specifications. In both the accounts of the book of Kings, Habor is distinctly and definitely spoken of as “ a river of Gozan ;” but in the later narrative of the book of Chronicles, we find the word Hara so inserted as to read : “ Habor, and Hara, and the river of Gozan.” We must here doubtless hold to the reading of the book of Kings, as the earliest and purest, and as being moreover twice repeated. The variation may have arisen in two ways. Hara (הָרָא) signifies “ mountains, mountainous tract,” and may have been first written as a gloss in the margin, in order to explain what was meant by their dwelling on the Habor, i. e. not merely along the river itself, but on and among the mountains through which it flows. A subsequent copyist would very easily transfer the word into the text, and fill out what he supposed to be the grammatical connection, by inserting the conjunction before and after it. Instances of various readings from such a source are very frequent in all ancient writings. Or, if Hara be regarded as the proper name of a region, like the Arabic *Jebâl*, “ mountains,” still, its insertion in this particular place is probably to be ascribed to the negligence of transcribers ; at any rate, it cannot do away the stronger evidence of the double reading of the book of Kings.*

The Israelites were carried away into Assyria, and it becomes therefore important to ascertain what were the limits of this empire at that period. Assyria, or (as written by the Arameans, Greeks, and Romans) Aturia and Atyria, was originally a province or region on the east of the Tigris, of which Nineveh was the centre and capital. Of its earliest limits we have no account. Its kings, pushing their conquests on every side, subdued Media on the east, and Mesopotamia and Syria on the west, and thus established the powerful empire of Assyria ; which, after various vicissitudes, appears to have reached its most flourishing point under the same Shalmaneser, near the close of the eighth century before Christ. We are told, indeed, that the kingdom of Babylon was founded by Nabonassar about 747 B. C., but he must either have been a vassal of As-

* Media or 'Irâk 'Ajmy bears also at the present day the name *el-Jebâl*. Rennell Geog. Syst. of Herodot. p. 395.

syria, or his country have been again subdued by that power ; for among the various tribes brought by Shalmaneser into the cities of Samaria instead of the Israelites, there were also “ men of Babylon.”* Or even apart from this fact, it is obvious, that at least all the northern part of Mesopotamia must still have been subject to the Assyrian monarchs ; for both Shalmaneser and after him Sennacherib took their march across it on their way to Palestine. Indeed, the first sovereign of Babylon who made himself independent, as is generally understood, was Meroc-Baladan, who is not put earlier than 712 B. C. His successor was again subdued by Sennacherib, and Babylon remained subject to Assyria until Nabopolassar, about 626 B. C.† —The earliest defection of the Medes from the Assyrian yoke is commonly assigned to 713 B. C., and their first king, Dejoces, is supposed to have commenced his reign about three years later, or 710 B. C.‡

Thus it appears, that at the time of the carrying away of the ten tribes, and, with a short exception, for nearly a century afterwards, the territory of Assyria extended far on the west of the Tigris, and included Mesopotamia and sometimes Syria. After the downfall of Nineveh under Nabopolassar and Cyaxares, the Assyrian empire came to an end, and the great Chaldean realm of Babylon extended itself under Nebuchadnezzar over the same wide limits. The name Assyria or Aturia was now again restricted to the region east of the Tigris ; where Ptolemy in a later age describes it as bounded on the north by a part of Armenia and Mount Niphates, on the west by Mesopotamia and the Tigris, on the south by Susiana, and on the east by a part of Media and the mountains Choatras and Zagros. This region certainly comprehended the present territory of the Nestorians, as well as the greater part of the modern Kurdistan. It was divided into the following provinces : *Arrapachitis*, adjacent to Media ; next to this *Adiabene* ; then towards the east, *Arbelitis* ; above Adiabene was *Calacine* or *Calachene* ; below it, *Apolloniatis* ; and then *Sittacene* next to Susiana.

* 2 K. 17: 24, 30.

† Usher *Annales* pp. 54, 62. Winer. *Bibl. Realw. Zeittafeln* pp. 875, 876. Zumpt *Annales vet. Regnor. etc.* Berl. 1838, p. 5.

‡ Usher *ib.* p. 57. Zumpt *ib.* pp. 5, 6.—Compare also Tobit 1: 2, 15.

Adiabene was the principal province, and appears to have included Nineveh; it is indeed sometimes used interchangeably for Assyria itself.* Above and below it, along the Tigris, lay respectively Calachene and Apolloniatis; while Arrapachitis next to Media would appear to have embraced a part, if not the whole, of the present Nestorian territory.

We have been "thus particular on this point," in order to correct an historical error into which Dr. Grant has fallen, in his zeal to strengthen his argument. He asserts, namely, that at the time of the carrying away of the ten tribes, both the Babylonians and Medes had already fallen off from the Assyrian empire; which therefore was then limited to the region east of the Tigris, and no longer included Mesopotamia; pp. 155—157. Indeed, it seems never to have occurred to Dr. G. to ask, if the Assyrian empire was already thus hemmed in and crippled on the west by an independent kingdom of Babylon, how Shalmaneser, and after him Sennacherib, could make their inroads upon Syria and Palestine. The preceding remarks show sufficiently, that both Mesopotamia and Media were still portions of the Assyrian empire.

Hence, in respect to the *cities of the Medes*, we are not compelled, as Dr. G. would fain believe, to "look for the settlements of the captive Israelites in or near the borders of Assyria proper;" p. 157. The whole of Media was still open to the will of the Assyrian conqueror; and the sacred writer intimates no restriction to the western cities. Indeed, the city Rages in Media, where the exiles were visited by Tobit at an early period of the Israelitish captivity, lay quite at the south-eastern extremity of Media, near to Teheran, the modern capital of Persia.†

In *Haluh* most commentators have united in recognizing the Calah of Gen. 10: 11, 12;‡ and, as the name of a region, they

* Plin. H. N. V. 12. Ammian. Marcell. XXIII. 20. See generally Cellarius Notit. Orbis II. p. 653 seq.

† Tobit 1: 14, 15. Winer Bibl. Realw. art. *Rages*.

‡ Ephrem Syrus explains Calah by Hatra, the Chetra or Chatara of the Romans. Opp. I. p. 58. Assemani Bibl. Orient. IV. p. 419. This Dr. Grant assumes to be "the modern Hatareh, about a day's journey N. N. W. of the ruins of Nineveh;" p. 158. But both Assemani and also the Syrian Lexicographers, Bar Bahlul and Bar Ali, describe this Hatra or Chetra as situated in Mesopotamia over against Tekrit,

justly regard it as identical with the Calachene of the Greeks and Romans; which, as we have seen above, was a province of Assyria proper, north of Adiabene and adjacent to the Tigris. Some, indeed, refer it to the Hülwân of the Arabs, called also by the Syrians Hulun and Halach; but this city, as described by Abulfeda, lies in the N. E. part of the Babylonian 'Irak, to the S. E. of Nineveh, and remote from any part of Calachene.* The identity of Halah with the latter seems in every respect most probable; and thus we find the Israelites transported at least to the vicinity of the country of the Nestorians. Whether the region of Halah extended up into their mountains, we are still not informed. The same is true as to Hülwân; which is also much farther remote from the present territory of the Nestorians.

Habor is the name of a river; and we find at this very day a river of the same name, Arabic *Khabûr*, rising in the high-lands of the ancient Assyria proper, and pursuing its course southwesterly to the Tigris. Dr. Grant has the merit of being the first to furnish correct information respecting this stream. Here certainly is *prima facie* a strong point; and Dr. G. endeavors to strengthen it still more, by attempting to make out, that the name Gozan is to be recognized in the *Zozan*, (high pastures) of the Nestorians. This he does by showing that "*Gozan*, according to Cruden, Holden, and others, signifies *pasture*;" while "*Zozan* is the name given by the Nestorians to all the high-lands of Assyria which afford pasturage for their numerous flocks;" pp. 159, 160. Further, he says, "the sounds of G and Z frequently interchange" without altering the sense of the words; and for this he appeals to Gesenius; p. 160.

Now all that Gesenius says, and justly says, is, that the letter G (א Gimel), like the other palatals Kaph and Koph, sometimes passes over, not into Z (ז Zayin), but into *Tsade* (צ, ts);

not far from the Tigris and from BIRTHA; see Gesen. Thesaur. Heb. art. חֲבֵרָה, and his Heb. u. Chald. Wörterb. 1834, Vorrede pp. xviii, xix. It is so laid down in the maps of D'Anville and others. Abulfeda calls it Hadhr; Abulf. by Reiske, in Büsching's Magazin, Th. IV. p. 246.

* Assemani *ibid.* p. 419. Gesen. Thesaur, Heb. art. חֲבֵרָה. Abulfeda *ibid.* p. 262.—It is this Halach or Hulun, Arab. Hülwân, which Assemani describes as the seat of a Nestorian bishop; and not Hatra or Chetra.

that is, the G sound has an affinity with this particular sibilant (ts), and with no other; neither with Z nor S, nor SH.* Hence, until it is shown that the first letter in Zozan is *Tsade* and not *Zayin*, the argument does not touch the point. Further, Gozan, as every philologist knows, does not mean *pasture*; its root, whether it be גזז or גזז, signifies *to cut, to hew*; and the only sense which Gozan could naturally take, would be 'place of cutting or hewing,' perhaps *a quarry*. All this Dr. G. might have seen in Buxtorf, Simonis, Gesenius, and every other Hebrew lexicographer. The appeal, therefore, under such circumstances, to Cruden's Concordance, is very much like an advocate before a court, who, in order to support a desperate case, passes by the recorded judgment of a Mansfield or a Marshall, which would make against him, and cites the more favorable opinion of some worthy justice of the peace. Again, Gozan is a proper name; while Zozan, according to Dr. G.'s own showing, is merely an appellative, signifying "high-land pastures," like the Alpine pastures (*Alpweiden*) of Switzerland, to which the inhabitants repair with their flocks only in summer; p. 160.

But why should the author sedulously avoid all notice of the fact, that there exists also another river Khabûr, which rising in the high-lands of northern Mesopotamia, runs first S. E. and then S. W. into the Euphrates near Circesium, the modern Kerkis'yeh? This latter Khabûr of Mesopotamia is mentioned by all the Arabian geographers; and Yakût speaks distinctly of both.† Now the Khabûr of Mesopotamia is without question the Chaboras of the Greek and Roman geographers, which they describe as rising in the northern mountains, and flowing off in the like direction to the Euphrates at Circesium.‡ Here then is another Habor; and so far as the mere name is concerned, there is nothing to show, why this region may not have been that to which the Israelites were carried away. It was at the time a part of the great Assyrian empire, just as much as Assyria proper.

But we are not left to the mere name. All commentators agree in regarding the names Habor and Chebar as the same, the latter following more the Syriac idiom; and there can

* Gesen. Heb. Lex. lett. ג. e.

† Schulten's Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Chaboras*.

‡ Cellarius Notit. Orbis, II. p. 608.

hardly be a doubt that the river Chebar, where Ezekiel saw his glorious visions not long after the capture of Jerusalem, was the Khabûr of Mesopotamia. The prophet at the time was "among the captives by the river Chebar—in the land of the Chaldeans;" and he comes afterwards "to them of the captivity at Tel-Abib, that dwelt by the river of Chebar."* Who were these captives? Ezekiel himself was a priest, and many of his prophecies have respect to Judah and Jerusalem; but here, in connection with these first visions upon the river Chebar, he is expressly set as "a watchman unto the house of Israel;" he is directed repeatedly to go "to the house of Israel;" and many of his prophecies have reference to Israel.† The inference seems unavoidable, that the captives upon the Chebar were of the ten tribes; while the fact that the river was in "the land of the Chaldeans," fixes it in Mesopotamia.

Further: Habor was a river of Gozan; and we have express information, that the district between the Chaboras and the Saocoras or Mygdonius, anciently bore this name as late as the first century of the Christian era; at which time, it is described by Ptolemy under the Greek name of *Gauzanitis*.‡ This region, as we have seen, at the time of the captivity, was still part and parcel of the Assyrian empire; and might well have been the place of that name, to which the ten tribes were deported.

Again: Sennacherib boastingly exclaims to Hezekiah: "Have the gods of the nations delivered those which my fathers have destroyed,—Gozan, and Haran, and Rezepth . . . ? Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, etc.?"§ All these places named after Gozan, so far as we know, lie in Mesopotamia and Syria; and the purpose of the haughty monarch obviously was to show, that as his ancestors had formerly successfully prosecuted their conquests towards the west into Syria, so now he would extend them still further, and include

* Ezek. 1: 1, 3. 3: 15. Comp. 11: 24.

† Ezek. 3: 17. vss. 4, 5, 7. See too chap. 6, 7, 12, 14, 19, 20, 23, etc., etc.

‡ Ptolem. Geogr. V. 18. Cellarius ib. p. 603. Gesenius and Winer speak of the same region as being still called *Kau-shan*, but do not give their authority; Heb. Thesaur. art. קָשָׁן. Bibl. Realw. art. *Gosan*.

§ 2 K. 19: 12, 13. Isa. 37: 12, 13.

Judea. Haran, the Charræ of the Greeks and Romans, is well known as lying N. W. of the sources of the Chaboras;* and the region of Gozan or Gauzanitis lay directly between it and Nineveh. Rezeph appears to have been near Palmyra. Sennacherib therefore repeats the names in the very order, in which the conquests would naturally have taken place.

What then is the result of our inquiries as to the countries to which the ten tribes were carried away? We have seen that the "Cities of the Medes" need not be sought on the borders of Assyria; that "Halah" was probably the district Calachene north of Nineveh, and adjacent to the Nestorians; and that "Habor a river of Gozan" was apparently the Chaboras of Mesopotamia. At least the country upon that stream was then a part of Assyria; the river skirted a district called Gozan; and upon its borders were captives, to whom Ezekiel was sent as to "the house of Israel." We see not how the theory of Dr. Grant can bear up against this mass of testimony.†

But having once planted the standard of the ten tribes on the mountains of Kurdistan, Dr. G. struggles manfully in defence of the position thus taken, and brings up to its aid what he regards as an invincible host of historical evidence. His main dependence, however, in order to show beyond question, as he supposes, that the ten tribes were in the present territory of the Nestorians in the first century, is the passage in the famous speech of the younger Agrippa to the Jews at Jerusalem;

* Dr. G. commits a strange blunder in making *Haran* (חָרָן) and *Hara* (חָרָה) identical; he says, "the words have the same sense;" p. 161. It is hardly necessary to remark, that they have only one letter (ח) in common; and have no more resemblance either in form or meaning, than the English words *churn* and *hurra*.

† The views above given, and the reasons assigned, relieve us from the necessity of a formal refutation of Bochart's hypothesis, since adopted by Rosenmueller and some others, viz. that Gozan was the Gausania of Ptolemy, a city of Media towards the Caspian. Ptol. VI. 2. Bochart Phaleg, III. 14. Later writers detect also "the river of Gozan" in the Kuzul Ozan, a stream running eastwards through Media, and emptying itself into the southern end of the Caspian Sea. Rosenm. Bibl. Geogr. I. 296. II. 102. R. K. Porter's Travels, I. p. 267. Major Rennel finds Gozan in the name of this river itself, *Ozan*; Geogr. Syst. of Herodot. p. 395.

which Dr. Buchanan also has very carelessly applied to a similar purpose. Agrippa, in warning the Jews against trying the fortune of war with the Romans, exclaims, as commonly translated: "What! do you stretch your hopes beyond the river Euphrates? Do any of you think that your fellow-tribes will come to your assistance out of Adiabene? Besides, if they would come, the Parthians would not permit it."* Adiabene, as we have seen, was the chief province of Assyria proper, including the site of Nineveh. In this passage, Dr. G. says, "it is alluded to as a fact known and recognized by their whole nation [the Jews] assembled in council at Jerusalem, that their brethren of the ten tribes were in Adiabene more than seven centuries after they were carried away captives;" pp. 162, 170.

But is all this so? First, the original word *ὁμοφυλούς*, here rendered "fellow-tribes," has not that meaning, but signifies "fellow-tribesmen," i. e. men of the same tribe or people. This gives at once a different shape to the sentiment of Agrippa, and makes it apply, not to the ten tribes, but to later Jews, as that name was understood in the time of Christ. And further, when we look at the historical circumstances related by Josephus himself respecting Adiabene, we find this whole argument vanishing into thin air; and all the facts of the case, instead of sustaining Dr. G's position, going directly to contradict it.

In narrating the administration of Caspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea for about two years, A. D. 44—46, Josephus turns aside to give an account of the kingdom of Adiabene.† Monobazus, king of that country, had by his queen Helena a son also called Monobazus; and by her sister another younger son called Izates. In consequence of a dream, this younger son was preferred before his elder brother, both by his father and Helena; and having passed his youth at a castle near Charræ (Haran), on the death of his father he returned to Adiabene, and through the influence of his step-mother Helena was proclaimed king by the people. Before his return, he had become acquainted with a Jewish merchant named Ananias, by whose persuasions he had been induced to embrace the Jewish religion; and it so happened, that about the same time Helena also, through the instructions of another Jew, had been led to adopt the same faith. On the accession of Izates, he was desirous of submitting to the rite of circumcision, but was dis-

* Joseph. B. J. II. 16. 4. † Joseph. Antiq. XX. c. 2, 3, 4.

suaded by Helena and Ananias; the former representing to him, "that he was a king, and it would greatly alienate the minds of his subjects should they learn that he affected strange and foreign customs, nor would they bear that a Jew should reign over them."* But on the arrival of a learned Jew from Galilee, the hesitation of Izates was overcome, and he received circumcision. Helena now repaired to Jerusalem, where she arrived during the time of scarcity and famine under Fadus, which she greatly aided to alleviate by supplies of corn brought from Egypt and Cyprus. Izates also sent large sums of money to Jerusalem to be applied to the same object.† He was a prudent and successful monarch, and sustained himself in a series of wars against four successive Parthian kings.‡ Influenced by his example, his brother Monobazus and other relatives likewise embraced Judaism. Helena and Monobazus took up their residence in Jerusalem, where each had a palace, and Helena also prepared the splendid mausoleum now wrongly called the Tombs of the Kings.§ Izates died after a prosperous reign of twenty-four years, and was succeeded by his brother Monobazus. Helena also returned to Adiabene, but soon died; and her bones, as well as those of Izates, were transported to Jerusalem, and deposited in the tomb she had prepared.|| During the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, the sons and brothers of Izates were residing there, and surrendered themselves to the conqueror before the destruction of the city.¶

Helena, then, came to Jerusalem about A. D. 45, soon after the accession of Izates, which therefore could not have been earlier than A. D. 43 or 44. The twenty-four years of his reign extended of course to A. D. 67 or 68. During most of that interval Helena and her son Monobazus resided in Jerusalem, where they inhabited palaces and probably had their court. Nor can we doubt also, that under the sway of a proselyte monarch, the Jews would enjoy great privileges in Adiabene, and that very many would repair to that country; so that much and various intercourse would be kept up between it and Jerusalem. It was in these circumstances, that the Jews of

* Joseph. Antiq. XX. 2. 5.

† Ibid. XX. 2. 6.

‡ Ibid. XX. c. 3.

§ Ibid. XX. 4, 1, 3. B. J. V. 6. 1. VI. 6. 3. Bibl. Researches in Palest. I. p. 536.

|| Joseph. Antiq. XX. 4. 3.

¶ Ibid. B. J. VI. 6. 4.

Palestine under the administration of Florus, who became procurator in A. D. 64, meditated sedition and revolt against the Roman dominion. To dissuade them from this step, the younger Agrippa in A. D. 65 or 66* delivered the speech in question to the Jews assembled in Jerusalem. After magnifying the Roman power and enforcing their inability to resist it, he exclaims: "Perhaps some one may stretch his hopes beyond the Euphrates, and suppose that those of your nation (*ὁμοφύλους*) from Adiabene will bring help. But they will neither for a light cause involve themselves in such a war; nor, should they take such evil counsel, would the Parthians permit them."†

Now to what does this amount? We must remember that all this time the king of Adiabene and most of the royal family were Jewish proselytes; that probably the Jews enjoyed great privileges in that land and would naturally frequent it in great numbers; and that, too, the mother and brother of the monarch were residing in Jerusalem in regal splendor. What then could be more natural than such a hope in the Jews, that their brethren of the same faith from Adiabene would afford them aid? or than the appeal of Agrippa, first to the prudence of the sovereign, and then to the fact that he had been pressed by the Parthians, who would again come down upon him, should he engage in this unequal war? These considerations afford a sufficient and complete illustration of the language of Agrippa; and show too that the passage has no direct reference whatever to the ten tribes.

Indirectly, however, the circumstances of the narrative go to prove conclusively, that the ten tribes, as such, were *not* in this district in the first century. On the accession of Izates, as we have seen, Helena dissuaded him from being circumcised, saying, "that it would greatly alienate the minds of his subjects, should they learn that he affected strange and foreign customs; nor would they bear that a Jew should reign over them." Now according to Dr. Grant's theory, the great body of his subjects were themselves Israelites, adherents of the Jewish faith; and if so, the advice and language of Helena to the proselyted monarch was absurd and ridiculous in the extreme.

Of the same general tenor is another passage of Josephus, which Dr. G. has overlooked. In the proem to his History of the Jewish Wars, a work first written in his native tongue, he

* Usher Annales p. 644, 646.

† Joseph. B. J. II. 16. 4.

assigns the reasons which led him afterwards to translate it into Greek. He first speaks of the hopes entertained by the Jews, that all of their nation (*ὁμόφυλον*) beyond the Euphrates would take up arms along with them; and then adds, that he could not regard it as right, that the Parthians, the Babylonians, the remotest Arabs, his own countrymen (*ὁμόφυλον*) beyond the Euphrates, and the people of Adiabene, should through his means know the truth of all these matters, while the Greeks and Romans should become acquainted with them only through exaggerated and false accounts.*—Here a distinction is made between the “fellow-tribesmen beyond the Euphrates” and the inhabitants of Adiabene. The whole passage shows that throughout all these wide regions the Aramean was still the prevailing language, save perhaps the beginnings of the Arabic; and it shows nothing more.

The testimony of Josephus and Jerome as to the non-return of the ten tribes to Palestine, we shall recur to hereafter.

We have thus gone through with the evidence adduced by the author in support of his position, from the language, the traditions and the country of the Nestorians. The reader will now be able to judge whether it affords any more decisive results than that arising from their customs and observances.

We might perhaps with propriety here bring this article to a close. But as some additional light may possibly be thrown upon the general subject, by a review of the various circumstances of the captivity and return of the Israelites and Jews, we subjoin here a brief exhibition of the leading facts.

In the second book of Kings we read: “In the days of Pekah, king of Israel [after 740 B. C.], came Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria.”† The writer of the first book of Chronicles doubtless alludes to the same conquest in part, when he says of Tiglath-Pileser, that “he carried them away, even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan, unto this day.”‡

* Joseph. B. J. Proem. 2.

† 2 K. 15: 29.

‡ 1 Chr. 5: 26. The discrepancy of the reading here, as compared with the book of Kings, has already been considered; see above p. 41.

Fifteen years or more afterwards, about 720 B. C., "in the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria [Shalmaneser] took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and on Habor a river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes."* In place of the Israelites thus carried away from the region of Samaria, the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, Cuthah and other regions, "and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel."† These became afterwards the sect or people of the Samaritans, a remnant of whom remains at Nābulus unto the present day.‡

More than a century later, about 598 or 599 B. C., took place the first captivity of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar. No less than three deportations in all occurred under this monarch; the second about 588 B. C., and the last about four years later; but it is not necessary for our present purpose to dwell upon the details.§ It is sufficient to remark, that he carried away to Babylon "all the princes and all the mighty men of valor, all the craftsmen and smiths; none remained save the poorest sort of the people of the land;" and these "poor of the land" were left to be "vine-dressers and husbandmen."|| That is to say, only the chief inhabitants, warriors and artisans, were carried away; at one time eighteen thousand at the utmost, and at the other times less than two thousand.¶ These twenty thousand could have been but a small proportion of the population of Jerusalem and Judah.

During all this interval of one hundred and twenty years after the captivity of the ten tribes, the kingdom of Judah had continued to exist, and sometimes to flourish, under the reigns of Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, Josiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and at last Zedekiah. A few notices respecting the state of northern Palestine during the same period may aid our further inquiries.

It may be remarked, in general, that in all probability the deportation out of the regions of Galilee and Gilead by Tiglath-

* 2 K. 17: 6. More fully ib. 18: 9—11. See above, p. 41.

† 2 K. 17: 24.

‡ Bibl. Researches in Palest. III. p. 97 seq.

§ For the first, see 2 K. 24: 14 seq. Jer. 27: 20. 52: 28. For the second, 2 K. 25: 11 seq. Jer. 52: 29. For the third, Jer. 52: 30.

|| 2 K. 24: 14. 25: 12. Jer. 39: 10. 40: 7. 52: 15, 16.

¶ 2 K. 24: 14, 16. Jer. 52: 28—30.

Pilesers, was not more extensive than that of Judah and Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar.* This appears, partly from the nature of the case, since these were then populous districts, and continued (Galilee at least) to be populous ever afterwards; and partly from the circumstance, that nowhere except in the district of Samaria were foreigners brought in to fill the places of the former inhabitants. From this latter district, indeed, the great mass of the population appears to have been carried away; and the foreigners who thus came in their stead, remained, as Samaritans, a foreign and distinct people, as much at variance with the remnant of the ten tribes and the later Jews of Galilee, as with the body of that nation in Jerusalem and Judea.†

The same fact, however, appears more conclusively, from the few historical notices of the same period preserved in the second book of Chronicles. It is there related, that the pious Hezekiah, in the very first year of his reign, took measures to purify the house of the Lord and restore in it the worship of the Most High. In the sixth year of his reign, the destruction of Samaria took place,‡ and the whole country of the ten tribes was now left without a head and without any religious observances. In this juncture “the king took counsel, and his princes and all the congregation of Jerusalem, to keep the passover in the second month.” “So they established a decree to make proclamation throughout all Israel, from Beersheba even to Dan, that they should come to keep the passover unto the Lord God of Israel at Jerusalem.” This decree was addressed unto “the remnant that were escaped out of the hand of the kings of Assyria.” “So the posts passed from city to city through the country of Ephraim and Manasseh even unto Zebulun; but they laughed them to scorn, and mocked them. Nevertheless divers of Asher and of Zebulun humbled themselves, and came to Jerusalem.”§ It appears, too, that the number of the ten tribes who thus came up was not small; “for a multitude of the people, even many of Ephraim and Ma-

* See also Rennell on the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, in his *Geog. Syst. of Herodot.* Sec. XV. p. 389 seq. especially pp. 400—402.

† *Bibl. Researches in Palest.* III. p. 116.

‡ 2 K. 18: 10. 2 Chr. 29: 3.

§ 2 Chr. 30: 1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11.

nasseh, Issachar and Zebulun, had not cleansed themselves; yet did they eat the passover." The feast continued seven days; and such was the spirit of religious and fraternal feelings excited among them, that "the whole assembly took counsel to keep other seven days; and they kept other seven days with gladness.—And all the congregation of Judah, and all the congregation that came out of Israel, and the strangers that came out of the land of Israel and that dwelt in Judah, rejoiced."* Immediately after this, "all Israel" went out and destroyed the tokens of idolatry "out of all Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim also and Manasseh," and then returned "unto their own cities." Hezekiah now reinstates "the portion of the priests and the Levites," and "the children of Israel brought in abundance the first fruits . . . and the tithe of all things brought they in abundantly."†

From all these accounts we can draw no other conclusion, than that after the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel, as such, a large body of the people still continued to inhabit Galilee and the other parts of their land, except the district of Samaria; and that these to a great extent again gave in their adhesion to the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem, as the central point and head of the Hebrew commonwealth. Thus far, at least, under Hezekiah, the whole Hebrew nation remaining in Palestine would seem to have become again one community.

During the subsequent reigns of Manasseh and Amon, this bond of fraternal union was probably in a great measure interrupted or forgotten; but the piety of king Josiah, some seventy years after Hezekiah, again broke down the idol altars throughout all Judah and the "cities of Samaria," and the land of Israel; and collections were made not only in Judah and Benjamin, but also in "Manasseh and Ephraim and of all the remnant of Israel," for the repair of the house of the Lord; and the passover was again kept in Jerusalem (about 622 B. C.) by "all Judah and Israel."‡ All this serves to show, that the same community of feeling still subsisted between Judah and the remnant of Israel; and that the authority of the king of Judah, as the religious head of the Hebrew nation, was now recognized not less among the remnant of the ten tribes, than among

* 2 Chr. 30: 18, 23, 25.

† Ibid. 31: 1, 4, 5.

‡ 2 K. 23: 19. 2 Chron. 34: 6, 9. 35: 18. Compare Zeph. 3: 12, 13.

the two.—In all this, indeed, we find nothing expressly said respecting the tribes east of the Jordan; but all analogy and subsequent history lead to the conclusion, that their situation was not essentially different from that of the other tribes of Israel.

Some ten years after the death of Josiah, occurred the first deportation of the Jews and of their king Jehoiachin to Babylon, under Nebuchadnezzar. Among these captives, apparently, was the prophet Ezekiel; while Jeremiah remained at Jerusalem and prophesied under Zedekiah.* The prophecies of the latter have frequent reference to the final overthrow and captivity of his nation, which took place not long afterwards;† but his prophetic eye looked forward also to the restoration of his people from their exile, and the promises of return which his lips uttered, refer *just as much to Israel* as to Judah: “For lo, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel and Judah, saith the Lord: and I will cause them to return to the land that I gave to their fathers, and they shall possess it.”‡ In the same manner, Ezekiel visits in spirit the captives of Israel on the river Chebar, and pours out equally against them and Judah the reproofs and warnings of the Most High;§ while at the same time he too looks forward and predicts their return to the Promised Land, and announces to Judah and Israel, that the Lord “will create them one nation upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all; and they shall no more be two nations; neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all.”||

From all these circumstances, we draw the further inference, that the amalgamation of Judah and Israel, which had begun in Palestine before the captivity of Jerusalem, was still continued in the countries of their exile. Misfortune had drawn them again together as with strong bands; and the purpose of the

* Ezek. 1: 1. 33: 21. Jerem. 1: 1—3.

† Jer. 32: 24 seq. c. 34.

‡ Jer. 30: 3, 4, 10. 21: 1 seq. 33: 7, 50: 17, 20, 33, 34. The passage in c. 50., shows decisively that a return from Babylon is meant.

§ See above, p. 46.

|| Ezek. 27: 21, 22; comp. 33: 24, 24. See the whole of c. 36, 37. Compare also Luke 1: 32, 33.

Lord was declared, that this union should be completed and perfected by their return to the land of their fathers.

Thus the posterity of Israel and of Judah continued to live on together during the remaining portion of the captivity. Their condition appears not to have been one of oppression. They builded them houses, and planted them gardens, and were prosperous; some became connected with the court and rose to the highest offices of state; and they retained, partially at least, their own chiefs and elders.*

Nearly fifty years after the second and main deportation from Jerusalem, including king Zedekiah, and not long after the capture of Babylon and the overthrow of the Chaldean empire, Cyrus the founder of the Perso-Median kingdom, in the first year of his reign, about 536 B. C., "made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom," permitting the exiles of Palestine to return and build up their temple and reinstate the worship of the true God.† This decree is not directed either to the Jews or Israelites, but to all the people: "Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel." And although it is indeed said, that there "rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests and the Levites;" yet it is also added: "with all them whose spirit God had raised, to go up to build the house of the Lord."‡ The first great company of the returning exiles under Zerubbabel amounted to nearly fifty thousand persons.§ These certainly were not all Jews; for the very catalogues which are given of their families, are inscribed: "The number of the men of the people of Israel." Some of them even could not prove "whether they were of Israel" at all.¶ Of those who thus went up, the priests and the Levites and their dependents dwelt in their cities, "and all Israel in their cities."***

All this is in entire accordance with the idea of a reunion and amalgamation of Israel and Judah, as already suggested,

* Jer. 29: 5 seq. Tobit, passim.—Dan. 1: 3 seq. 6: 2, seq. Esth. 8: 1, 2. Comp. Tobit 1: 22.—Ezek. 14: 1. 20: 1. Ezra 1: 5. Susanna 5, 28.

† Ezra 1: 1—4.

‡ Ib. vs. 5.

§ Ezra 2: 64, seq.

|| Ezra. 2: 2. Neh. 7: 7.

¶ Ezra 2: 59.

** Ib. vs. 70. Comp. 1 Chr. 9: 1, 3.

both in the Land of Promise, and in their captivity. And we further find, in still stronger coincidence with the same view, that when after twenty years, the building of the temple by Zerubbabel was completed in 516 B. C. "the children of Israel, the priests, and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house of God, with joy; and offered at the dedication of this house a hundred bullocks, . . . and for a sin-offering for all Israel, twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel."* At the same time, also, the passover was kept by "the children of Israel, which were come again out of captivity." These accounts obviously refer not to the Jews alone, nor to the ten tribes alone; but to all the children of Israel, the Hebrews, who had been in captivity together; and they necessarily imply, that the former distinction and enmity between the two tribes and the ten tribes, had been already done away; and that both in Palestine, and in the country of their exile, the whole Hebrew nation was again one, whether spoken of as Jews or as Israel.

But of this reunited people, there still remained large numbers in the countries whither they had been carried away captive; and an important event in their history is related in the book of Esther. The luxurious Ahasuerus (Heb. Akhashverosh), most probably the Persian Xerxes, so far as we may judge from the name,† after 485 B. C., took to wife Esther the niece of Mordecai, a Jew descended from the tribe of Benjamin, and dwelling in Shushan, the capital of the Persian empire. His ancestors had been brought away from Jerusalem with Jeconiah (Jehoiachin); and we thus see, that the Jews of that captivity were not confined to Babylon and Mesopotamia, but dwelt, like the Israelites, dispersed through "the cities of the Medes" and Persians.‡ Such also was Haman's account of them, when he sought to destroy them: "There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all people; neither keep they the king's laws."§ This description applies

* Ezra 6: 16, 17—21.

† The ancient Persian name of this monarch is found in the cuneiform inscriptions at Persepolis, written *Khshhershē* or *Khshvershē*; out of which the Greeks made *Xerxes*, and the Hebrews, by prefixing their prosthetic Aleph, *Akhashverosh*. Gesenius, Thesaur. sub art.

‡ See also Josephus expressly, Antiq. XI. 5. 2. § Esth. 3: 8.

equally to Jews or Israelites, so far as they adhered to their religion; between whom Haman least of all would be likely to make a distinction, if any existed. Nevertheless, they are spoken of throughout the whole book of Esther, only as Jews; and this would therefore seem already to have become a current appellation of the amalgamated people. Their numbers we can judge of only from the number of the enemy slain by them in self-defence; which is given at five hundred in Shushan itself, and seventy-five thousand in the various provinces,—probably not including Palestine.* If this statement be correct, there cannot well have been less than some hundred thousands of this Jewish population.

Among all these, it is hardly possible not to suppose, that very many individuals and families would take advantage of the general permission to return, granted to the exiles, and repair at different times to the land of their fathers, where the temple had now been rebuilt, and the national worship re-established. But it was not until nearly eighty years after the first returning company under Zerubbabel, that another caravan was brought together by royal authority under the direction of Ezra. This took place in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, about 458 B. C.† The decree of that monarch, directed to Ezra, had respect not alone to the Jews, nor to the ten tribes; but was as follows: “I make a decree, that all they of the people of Israel, and his priests and Levites, in my realm, who are minded of their own free-will to go up to Jerusalem, go with thee.” In accordance with this permission, Ezra “gathered together the chief men out of Israel, to go up with him;” and after their arrival at Jerusalem, “the children of those who had been carried away, which were come out of the captivity, offered burnt-offerings unto the God of Israel, twelve bullocks for all Israel, . . . twelve he-goats for a sin-offering.”‡ And in the subsequent complaint to Ezra, of the intermingling of the people with the heathen round about, it is the “people of Israel” who have thus sinned; and “there assembled unto him out of Israel a very great congregation of men, women, and children; for the people wept sore.”§

* Esth. 9: 12, 15, 16.—The influence of Mordecai, as prime minister of the Persian king, would readily account for the observance of the feast of Purim among the Jews of Palestine.

† Ezra 7: 8.

‡ Ibid. 7: 28. 8: 35.

§ Ezra 9: 1. 10: 1. Neh. 9: 1, 2.

In all this, we have again strong evidence, that not only had Judah and Israel become reunited both in Palestine and the East ; but also that even the distinction of tribes was in a great measure forgotten or neglected, except as to the priests and Levites. In all the lists of the book of Ezra, and later, a specification of tribe very rarely occurs.

Thirteen or fourteen years after Ezra, Nehemiah repaired as the king's governor to Jerusalem. He appears not to have been accompanied by any band of returning exiles ; but he built up the walls of Jerusalem, and reinstated the feast of tabernacles : " And the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity made booths, and sat under the booths. . . . And there was very great gladness." And in the same month, " the children of Israel were assembled with fasting."* The Hebrew nation was therefore still one in worship and feeling ; although as Nehemiah was the royal governor only of Judah and Jerusalem, and not of Samaria, nor Galilee, nor Gilead, his doings and writings have naturally reference more to the inhabitants of the districts of Judah and Benjamin, than to the other portions of Palestine.†

Such is the history of the return of Judah and Israel to their native land. It does not follow that all returned ; indeed, the very language of Ezra implies that they did not.‡ The descendants of the ten tribes had now been settled down throughout the East from 720 to 440 B. C., nearly three hundred years, and those of Judah and Benjamin had also been there for about one hundred and fifty years. These regions, therefore, were their home and country ; and although many doubtless afterwards went up to the Promised Land, yet very many, we must suppose, clung to these their paternal abodes, in preference to becoming strangers and sojourners in the land of their ancestors. But they were now brethren in feeling and in name ; and whether called Jews or Israelites, they were the reunited stock of Abraham, the children of Israel, the people of the Hebrews. From this time onward to the Christian era, they appear on the pages of history only as one nation, whether in Palestine or in other lands—the Jews. The name of the ten tribes becomes lost ; and thus there early arose the impression that the ten tribes themselves were lost.

* Neh. 8: 17, 9: 1. Compare 10: 39.

† Neh. 3, 4, 11, 12.

‡ Ezra 9: 28.

It is not necessary to trace the further history of the Hebrew nation, now known as the Jews both in and out of Palestine. During the interval from Nehemiah to the coming of Christ, they suffered many revolutions, great oppression, and frequent desolations. Their country became the football of war and conquest, between the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria; under the Maccabees, in the second century before Christ, they maintained for a time an independent stand among the nations; but at length sunk before the all-engulfing power of the Roman arms. Under Alexander and his successors multitudes were transported or allured into Egypt, where a temple was erected and the Septuagint version of the Scriptures made for their use. During the same interval, great numbers also had wandered into Syria; where, in the cities from Damascus to Antioch and elsewhere, they lived in quiet and enjoyed the same rights as the Greeks.* From Syria they found their way to Asia Minor; where in the apostolic age all the principal cities were full of Jews, who were protected in their rights by many decrees of the Roman senate and emperors.† At the same period they were likewise dwelling in great numbers in the cities of Macedonia and Achaia, and also in Rome itself.‡ Most of these were apparently emigrants from the land of Palestine. It can also hardly be doubted, that while the chief motive of this emigration was traffic and the hope of gain, many would also repair from Palestine to Mesopotamia and the countries of the east; and that the bands of union and fellowship between them and their brethren already in those regions would become closer and stronger; such, as we shall see, was actually the case.

Such was the state of the nation when the Saviour appeared, and the books of the New Testament were written. At this time Galilee was one of the most populous portions of the whole land, and the country east of the Jordan was likewise full of Jews.§ Our Lord himself, though descended from David,

* Acts 9: 2. Joseph. Antiq. XII. 3, 1. B. J. VII. 3, 3.

† Acts 2: 9, 10. See too the journeyings of Paul as recorded in the book of Acts. Several such decrees are given by Josephus, Antiq. XIV. 10. XVI. 6.

‡ Acts 2: 10.

§ This was also the case in the time of the Maccabees; 1 Macc. 5: 9, seq., 14, seq.

was from the former region, and also visited the latter. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising to find St. Paul saying, in speaking of the promise of God made unto the fathers: "Unto which *promise* our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come;" meaning obviously the whole Hebrew nation as then known, or, as they were then called, the Jews.* In like manner the apostle James directs his Epistle "to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad;"† while Peter addresses himself only "to the strangers [sojourners] scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia," i. e. throughout Asia Minor.‡

These "dispersed Jews" (ἡ διασπορά), the twelve tribes thus scattered abroad, were, as we have seen, chiefly emigrants from Palestine, settled or sojourning in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece and Rome. The "dispersion" in the east alone, was probably made up, partly indeed of emigrants from Palestine, but chiefly of the descendants of those who had remained in those countries after the return of the "captivity." All however were now Jews, from whatever tribe descended, whether known or unknown. They are called by Josephus: "Jews sojourning beyond the Euphrates."§ They had been confirmed by Alexander the Great in their privileges and the right to live according to their own laws.|| Under his successors of the Seleucian dynasty, they had continued to be favored as loyal subjects; and, as such, a large colony of them was sent by Antiochus the Great to Lydia and Phrygia in Asia Minor, in order to prevent insurrection in those provinces.¶ In the days of the apostles a great multitude of Jews were thus dwelling "beyond the Euphrates," who stood in close connection with Palestine, and sent up regularly every year their annual tribute to the

* Acts 27: 6.

† James 1: 1, ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ.

‡ 1 Pet. 1: 1, ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾷς Πόντου, κ. τ. λ.—

In the New Testament, the prophetess Anna is mentioned as being of the tribe of Asher, Luke 2: 36; and St. Paul speaks of his descent from that of Benjamin, Phil. 3: 5. The lineage of the other Apostles is not given.

§ Joseph. Antiq. XV. 3. 1, οἱ ἐπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἀποικισμένοι Ἰουδαῖοι. Literally, perhaps, "Jews colonized beyond the Euphrates."

|| Ibid. XI. 8. 5.

¶ Ibid. XII. 3. 4.

temple and offerings of the first fruits.* In one instance, too, a Jew from beyond the Euphrates, not a native of Palestine, was made high-priest.† Jewish merchants and learned men from Galilee, as already related, visited Adiabene, through whose influence the royal family of that country were led to embrace Judaism. Many also from all the east resorted to Palestine, either temporarily or permanently, so that, as we are informed in the New Testament, “there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men out of every nation under heaven;” that is, men of Jewish descent or proselytes, born in foreign lands and speaking the languages of their native countries. Among these were “Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia;” besides others from Judea, Asia Minor, Rome, Crete, Egypt, and Arabia.‡

We have thus, as succinctly as possible, brought together all the Scripture-testimony bearing upon the captivity and return of the Israelites and Jews. We have seen, that after the various deportations out of the two kingdoms, the great body of the common people still remained in Palestine, where they became reunited as one nation in their public religious rites and worship at Jerusalem. The descendants of those carried away became in like manner amalgamated in the land of their exile. The permission to return was given alike to all; and so far as the testimony goes, no distinction of tribes was found among those who availed themselves of the opportunity. This distinction indeed was almost wholly laid aside; the name of Jews became as comprehensive as was formerly that of Hebrews; and the ten tribes, as such, were forgotten.

These views rest wholly on the evidence of Scripture; and appear to us satisfactory. Indeed, were it not for a single remark of Josephus, we should incline to regard them as unquestionable. That writer, in describing the return of Ezra, relates, that the decree of Artaxerxes was sent also to the Jews in Media, “who were greatly rejoiced, and many of them taking up their possessions, came to Babylon, desiring to return to Jerusalem. But the whole mass (ἡ μὲν ὅλη) of the Israelites remained in that region. So that it has happened, that two tribes are

* Joseph. Antiq. XV. 2. 2. XV. 3. 1.—Ibid. XVIII. 9. 1. Philo Opp. II. p. 578.

† Ibid. XV. 2. 4. XV. 3. 1.

‡ Acts 2: 5, 9, 10,

in Asia and Europe, subject to the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates unto this day, infinite myriads of men, incapable of being estimated in numbers.”* In no other passage does the writer refer to the subject, nor does he afterwards make any allusion to the ten tribes.

This language of Josephus is susceptible of two interpretations. According to one, he may here mean by “the whole mass of the Israelites” the same people which he elsewhere always calls “Jews sojourning beyond the Euphrates;” of whom he also afterwards says there were “not a few myriads.”† But in that case it is difficult to see, why he should here speak of them in such extravagant terms, as infinite in multitude, beyond the power of estimate in numbers. According to this view, we here have, on the part of Josephus, the expression of an opinion, that the “great mass” of the ten tribes remained in his day beyond the Euphrates; and that the whole of the Jewish nation in Palestine, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Europe, were descendants of the two tribes. On what authority was this opinion expressed? The historian was writing more than eight hundred years after the Israelitish captivity, and some five hundred and fifty years after the return of Ezra. What were his documents? They were either the same which we have now in the books of the Old Testament, or else tradition. But what is a tradition worth as to events occurring five centuries before, unless supported by other evidence? and especially if contradicted by written documents? Now the testimony of the books of Scripture, as we have seen, expressly contradicts this assertion of Josephus, and shows that after the captivity a great body of the ten tribes still remained in Palestine, and that many of them also returned out of the land of exile; so that the subsequent nation of the Jews, which became subject in Asia and Europe to the Romans, was composed, at least in a very considerable degree, of descendants of the ten tribes. Hence we must regard this assertion of Josephus as a mere conjecture of his own; in which, as in so many other instances, he has departed from the truth and distinctness of Scriptural history. As another example, may be cited the fact, that he refers the decree in favor of Ezra to Xerxes, contrary to the express testimony of

* Joseph. Antiq. XI. 5. 2, μυριάδες ἄπειροι, καὶ ἀριθμῷ γινώσκειν μὴ δύναμεναι.

† Ibid. XV. 3. 1.

Ezra himself;* while he makes Ahasuerus to have been Artaxerxes Longimanus, in opposition to the strong evidence of the name, and also to the fact, that Artaxerxes is in Scripture called by this his own proper appellation.†

If again we follow another interpretation of this language of Josephus, he may mean by "the whole mass of the Israelites" a different people from those whom he calls "Jews sojourning beyond the Euphrates." In this case it is difficult to say, precisely, whom he probably intended by these Israelites. It may be, since the nation of Israel was given over to captivity on account of its many idolatries,‡ that while the tender-hearted and pious among the captives returned in their captivity to the worship of the true God, and united themselves again with the Jews, the greater number still remained idolaters; and, to use the language of Prideaux, "soon going into the usages and idolatry of the nations among whom they were planted, (to which they were too much addicted while in their own land,) after a while became wholly absorbed and swallowed up in them; and thence utterly losing their name, their language, and their memorial, were never after any more spoken of."§ To such, Josephus might indeed conjecturally apply the exaggerated expressions above cited.

Or, it may be, that because the ten tribes, as such, had ceased to have a separate existence, the Jews of Palestine had come to regard themselves, in a national respect, as descended wholly from Judah and Benjamin; (so at least Josephus affirms, when he inaccurately says that only the two tribes were subject to the Romans;) and then the almost necessary inference to speculating minds would be, that the ten tribes were somewhere still existing beyond the Euphrates. Josephus may here mean something of the kind; for we know from other sources, that such speculations and fables respecting the ten tribes were already rife in the same age. In the apocryphal fourth book of Esdras, usually referred to the first century,|| we find the fol-

* Joseph. Antiq. XI. 5. 1. Ezra 7: 1, 11, 12.

† Jos. Ant. XI. 6. 1 seq.

‡ 2 K. 17: 7—23.

§ Prideaux's Connection, etc. I. p. 43.

|| The Esdras II. of the English Apocrypha. It is quoted in the Epistle of Barnabas; which latter is ascribed by Lardner and others to the first century. Compare Fabric. Cod. Pseudep. V. T. II. pp. 183, 184.

lowing passage relating to events seen in vision : "These are the ten tribes, which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea the king, whom Salmanasar king of Assyria led away captive ; and he carried them over the waters, and so they came into another land. But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt, that they might keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land. And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river. For the Most High showed signs for them, and held still the flood, till they were passed over. For through that country there was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half ; and the same region is called Arsareth. Then dwelt they there until the latter time."* This is the famous passage, which serves as a foundation for the theory of those who still find the ten tribes upon the continent of America. It proves at least the point for which we have cited it, viz. that in the age of Josephus speculations and fables were already afloat respecting the ten tribes, showing that the historical facts of the case had already been forgotten.

Thus then, whatever sense we may assign to this isolated passage of Josephus, there is nothing in it of sufficient weight to counterbalance the direct and tolerably full testimony of the sacred writers.

In the beginning of the fifth century, Jerome also speaks of the ten tribes as "unto this day subject to the kings of Persia, and their captivity has never been loosed."† This assertion may be explained like that of Josephus ; and indeed was probably borrowed from the language of that writer ; of whose works Jerome

* 4 Esdr. 13: 40—46. Dr. Grant has wholly misapprehended this passage, although he speaks of "a careful comparison of this account with the original;" p. 251. The original, by the way, is lost ; the earliest copy extant is the Latin version. The idea of the writer doubtless was, that in going "forth into a further country," the tribes passed from Mesopotamia northwards along the narrow passages of the Euphrates. Of these we heard much in 1839, while they were occupied by the Turkish army before the battle of Nizib.

† Hieron. Comm. in Hos. c. 1. Opp. ed. Mart. Tom. III. col. 1242.

made frequent use. It is also not impossible that, in his day, the learned and speculating Jews of Tiberias (whence Jerome had his teacher) may have been led, in their own self-complacency, to regard the Jews still living in those distant regions, as descended from the ten tribes, in order to make out for them a rank and ancestry inferior to their own. But how little ground there was for this assertion, we have already seen.

We rest therefore in the conclusion, that during and after the captivity, the twelve tribes had again become united into one people, both in Palestine and throughout the countries of their dispersion. They were now the later Jews.

The bearing of this discussion upon the theory of Dr. Grant is obvious. We have endeavored to show before, that neither from their customs, their language, their tradition, nor their country, can the Nestorians be proved to be of Hebrew lineage; and if we have now succeeded in showing, that in the age of Christ the ten tribes, as such, no longer had a separate existence, then *a fortiori* the Nestorians cannot well be the descendants and representatives of any lost tribes. We have entered into the discussion, not in reference to the position of Dr. Grant alone; but because the results to which we have come, if well-founded, may serve to put an end to much useless speculation and bald hypothesis in respect to this whole subject.

In the age of the apostles, Mesopotamia and the countries further east were indeed full of Hebrews; but they were now all Jews. They had already lived together and been amalgamated for more than five hundred years; and it is in vain now to say, that in one part the element of the ten tribes predominated more, and in another part less. Even the Jews of the celebrated schools at Babylon in the fifth and sixth centuries, who boasted that they were of the purest and noblest blood of the captivity, of the lineage of David, purer and nobler than that which returned to Jerusalem, had doubtless no better ground for the assertion, than the self-complacency of an overweening vanity.*—Among this multitude of Jews in the apostolic age, as well as among their Gentile neighbors, very many were converted to Christianity, and many churches were gathered. The apostle Peter himself, and his beloved Mark, appear to have visited Babylon.† Among these churches, composed

* Lightfoot *Horae Hebr.* in Ep. 1. ad Corinth. Addenda c. 2. Opp. II. p. 930.

† 1 Pet. 5: 13.

of Jewish and Gentile converts speaking the Aramean tongue, grew up the Syriac alphabet and dialect, so far as the latter is a distinct idiom. The great oriental Syrian church spread itself over the east, undivided, until the fifth century; when the condemnation of Nestorius, then Patriarch of Constantinople, roused the more eastern churches in his favor; and the appellation of Nestorians came to designate a large portion of those who bore the Syrian name.

In all this progress of the church, are we to suppose, that Jewish converts and their descendants held themselves aloof from Gentile Christians, in separate communities or tribes? Have we the slightest hint, either in the New Testament or in ecclesiastical history, that such was the custom of converts from Judaism? If so we must expect to find the practice in its full strength among the Greek churches of Palestine in the first five centuries; when thousands and thousands of the Jews embraced Christianity, and there were comparatively few Gentiles round about to be mingled with them; or also in Asia Minor, where Paul himself preached and gathered churches from both Jews and Gentiles. Yet in all these regions we look in vain for churches composed exclusively of Jewish converts, or even laying special weight upon their Jewish descent. As members of a new dispensation, one in faith and hope and love, they laid aside former distinctions and prejudices, and became in the character of Christians one homogeneous people devoted to the Lord. "The middle wall of partition" was wholly broken down. What Christian in the fourth and fifth centuries, in Palestine or Asia Minor, ever thought or inquired whether he or his brethren were of Jewish or of Gentile descent? Still less, we apprehend, could such a distinction be traced, even in that early age, in the case of whole communities of the Syrian church; and it has been reserved for the nineteenth century to advance the claim at this late day, in behalf of the Nestorians of Kurdistan. We do not believe the hypothesis would ever have occurred to any one, not even to Dr. Grant, had it not been for the conceit current among the Nestorians themselves.

But if it were indeed possible to prove, that the Nestorians are of Jewish descent; of what importance could it be, except as a mere historical fact? All the evidence which can possibly be brought forward in their case, applies with a tenfold force to the Christians of modern Palestine; who must be, beyond

all question, through the churches of the fourth and fifth centuries, the descendants and representatives of the primitive churches of the Holy Land, gathered by the apostles themselves. True, that land has time and again been swept with desolation and bloodshed ; but the native population has in the interval never been carried away, nor supplanted by another people. Yet who now ever thinks of their Jewish origin ? or what difference would this make in the interest or amount of missionary effort in their behalf ? Just so in regard to the Nestorians. The providence of God has rolled off the night of ages and revealed them to our eyes ; a people of a comparatively pure faith, simple-hearted, confiding, intelligent, and eager for instruction ; though still shrouded in the mists of ignorance. Our missionaries are among them. The Spirit of the Lord is at work ; and has already set open a door far wider than the American churches are yet ready to enter and occupy. A day is dawning upon the Nestorians, brighter than they have seen for ages. Among them, as among other oriental nations, a revolution is impending, is even before the door, of which our western churches as yet have hardly a foreboding. The dead and stagnant pool of oriental mind begins to effervesce ; the waves of occidental civilization and intellectual power are flowing in upon it with resistless might ; it will soon be broken up. Soon the dreams of Muhammedan delusion, and the nothings of a nominal Christianity, will no longer satisfy their votaries ; and the dread question will speedily be forced upon the conscience of all Christendom, whether the blessings of the gospel, or the curse of infidelity and crime, shall come up in their place. For this question, for this dread responsibility, neither the churches of England, nor of Germany, nor of America, are now ready. Yet the time rushes on. Let them awake and be prepared.

ARTICLE III.

THE INFLUENCE OF PERSONAL PIETY ON PULPIT ELOQUENCE.

By Rev. William Adams, Pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church, New-York.

THE great design of the Christian ministry is to persuade alienated man to become reconciled to God. This result cannot be accomplished without producing many incidental effects on the social and intellectual nature ;—the whole man feeling the influence of this greatest of changes, as the whole body of the sea obeys the attraction of the heavenly orb. These subordinate influences, although inseparable from the main design of the pulpit, are never to be mistaken for it or confounded with it ; and that mode of preaching we shall be allowed to consider as essentially defective, which, however it may inform the understanding, excite the sensibilities, or regale the taste, uniformly fails of that grand result, for which the ministry was appointed—*making men wise unto salvation*.

In demonstrating the influence of eminent piety, on the part of the preacher, in aid of this object, we shall not be understood as decrying any intellectual qualification, or subtracting in the least from the power of that motive which impels to great diligence in disciplining the mind and manner. One of the very first influences of a high-toned and intelligent piety is to promote the highest degree of intellectual activity. It puts the mind in a glow. It gives a quicker and healthier motion to all the pulses of life. That piety is suspicious and spurious which claims affinity with sloth ; and never can we hold sympathy with the notion, that, in the high province of the Christian ministry, mere goodness of heart supersedes the endowments of nature and the accomplishments of education. It implies a radical defect both of intelligence and piety for one, at this period of time, to apply in his own case the direction of our Lord to his immediate disciples ;—“ take no thought what ye shall say, for in that same hour it shall be given you.” Many, listening to this temptation of the devil, have ventured to the pinnacle of the temple, and actually thrown themselves

down, without finding their Icarian wings or angelic interposition sufficient to save them from severe injury. For one, who stands "to justify the ways of God to man," to defer diligent and thoughtful preparation for his office, relying on some sudden effluence of religious feeling, is to forswear reason and scoff at the economy of God.

Piety, therefore, is not something to be set over against rhetoric, as a contrary quality, but as coincident with it. Rhetoric is not an artifice, but a reality. Its laws have their origin in our intellectual and moral natures. These possess an invariable quality. Whoever speaks with success *must* conform to these; and a more accurate definition of our present topic would be the coincidence between the impulses of piety and the canons of persuasive speech.

A great principle is embodied in the familiar expression of the apostle, "godliness is profitable unto all things;" and that man has already attained to great knowledge whose experience has taught him, that success in this present life and his well-being in the life which is to come lie precisely along the same line; and that the very thing which is essential to the salvation of his own soul, is itself of the highest service in all the relations and departments of life. The proper employments of *the man*, and *the Christian*, never cross each other at angles. They are like a series of circles, in which the greater includes the less. Science and philosophy have done but little which religion would not have enabled them to do better; while religion accomplishes much, which, without her aid, science and philosophy could never do at all. These subordinate uses of religion have as yet been imperfectly developed. The more of them we discover, the better will religion be understood, as the diamond's beauty is displayed the more it is revolved.

What is essential to the preacher's highest success? For the ultimate law of that success we stop not short of the eternal throne itself. This admission, however, so far from superseding our present inquiry, serves only to enhance its practical importance; for we would know, whether in the *appointment of God himself*, there are any methods and laws of speech which are better adapted to convince, persuade and convert than all others.

Our reply is definite. The success of the preacher, under God, depends on two things:

I. *What* he preaches, and,

II. *How* he preaches.

As to the subject matter of the ministry, it has been defined by the Author of the ministry himself. Not every thing which is proclaimed, even eloquently, from the pulpit, is fitted to the great end and object of the pulpit. The gospel, by which we are to understand that assemblage of truths, which cluster around the central fact of a Saviour's mediation, is the one efficient means, appointed of God, for human salvation. The early heralds of the gospel, whose first announcements of it were attended with effects little short of miraculous, renounced every theme, save Christ, and him crucified. Substitute any thing for this,—it will be powerless to save.

First of all, then, we assert, that without piety in his own heart, the preacher can never comprehend the import of that message, in which is involved the whole secret of his success. Something more than genius and erudition is necessary to discern the gospel aright. Nor is this a matter of mere reasoning; but an assertion of inspiration also. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." "Non sine lumine,"—useless without the sun,—was the trite motto on the old-fashioned sundial. Artificial light will not tell the time. A candle will not cast a true shadow. The interior illumination of the Spirit of God is indispensable to a correct perception of God's own truth. To many the gospel remains a mystery still, not because it is so recondite, but because it is so simple. Simplicity and lowliness of heart alone comprehend it. The late Mr. Wilberforce, who was, as all know, a man of distinguished piety, on one occasion prevailed on William Pitt, then prime minister of the kingdom, to accompany him to hear that eminently spiritual man, Richard Cecil, upon whose ministry Mr. W. at that time attended. The pious preacher delivered a most striking and luminous discourse on some of the leading points of Christian faith and Christian duty. It was a discourse which struck Mr. Wilberforce as being unusually imbued with a spirit of fervent piety and evangelical truth. When the service was over and they quitted the chapel, Wilberforce asked Mr. Pitt what he thought of the sermon. The answer of the illustrious statesman was, that he "did not understand one word of all he had heard; and that he could not, indeed,

have been more ignorant of the preacher's meaning, if, instead of addressing his audience in English, he had spoken all the time in an unknown language." No doubt there was many an obscure individual in the galleries of St. John's chapel, on that very occasion, who not only understood but enjoyed those words, drawing refreshment from them, as the thirsty plant drinks in the dews of the evening. Spiritual affections alone discern that which is spiritual.

The rill is tuneless to his ear
Who has no harmony within ;
Who has no inward beauty none perceives,
Though all around is beautiful.

The gospel is addressed to the moral sense ; and if that be bleared or blunted, the gospel must remain an enigma. If the eye be dark, how great is the darkness ! It was not till Thomas Scott began to pray, like a little child, as advised by his friend Newton, that the mystery of Christ was unfolded to him. Who has not experienced the effect of religious feeling in the alertness, and brightness, and distinctness of his mental perceptions ? Ere the break of day we look to the right hand and to the left, and nothing is there but cold and shapeless mist. But when the sun is up and the mist has rolled away, the cultivated field, the smiling village and the solemn wood are all before us. It is sanctified affection which throws sun-light over the objects of spiritual intellection. He alone who walks with God, in the daily converse of prayer, knoweth the mind of God ; and he only who weeps with Jesus Christ in the garden, and at the cross, disciplining himself in all the processes of piety, is qualified, as by a new sense, to understand his words and his salvation.

The doctrine of Christ crucified is not a bare and isolated proposition. Infinite in number and variety are the truths to which it is related. When the apostle avowed his purpose to know nothing but the cross of Christ, his meaning obviously was that *all truth* was, ever after, to be contemplated by him, in its proper connection with this vital fact. Here, then, we have one of those simple principles which are essential to the success of every preacher of the gospel. Truth warped and distorted out of its proper proportions is truth no longer. "There is," says Pascal, "but one indivisible point from which

a picture should be contemplated. Every other is too high or too low; too near or too distant. Perspective fixes this point in the art of painting." There is such a thing as *doctrinal* perspective. Every thing depends, in the study of theology, upon obtaining the right point of observation. The several "distributions and partitions of truth," disjoined from that one stem and trunk which gives unity to the whole system, are as incoherent and unintelligible as the leaves which the Sybil scattered to the wind. Every thing in astronomy depends upon what is made to occupy the centre, the earth or the sun. That philosophy—a form of Fichteism—which has recently obtained no inconsiderable notoriety in our land, and from which, when fully espoused, consequences most disastrous are, with good reason, to be apprehended, places *man* in the centre of its system. Its total creed is resolvable into one idea, if that be intelligible, *universal humanity*. "To be a man is greater than to be a Christian," is its first and frequent assertion. Jesus Christ, instead of being the sun and centre, is only a star of lesser magnitude, like many others, which shine away on the outer periphery. All the notions which it holds concerning divine rule, authority and inspiration are the legitimate products of this one grand mistake, man made to occupy the place of God; a mistake concerning which it is difficult to decide, whether it is more revolting to reason, or the meek piety which delights to lie humble before God. "Behold," said one, aptly, years ago, "the progeny of human pride,—the Creator the creature! the creature the Creator! Enter into the temple of his worship the walls of that house do but reflect back his own image; the spirit that fills it is pride; its shecinah is self."

Now, so it is, that the spot which piety has chosen for its retired abode is *the one*, the *only one* which commands the right aspect of every revealed truth. The sacred mount where the Saviour bled is the point of observation, from which all objects are to be contemplated, and according to which they receive their coloring, their shading, their prominence and their distance. All the doctrines, facts and precepts of Scripture together form a series of concentric circles. He who stands at any point in the circumference of one sees only one radius, or a small segment of a subject; but he whose position is the very centre of the whole is in a condition to survey

———"the great eternal scheme
Involving all"——

To preach Christ is to preach all truth in its relation to Christ. He who mistakes here, mistakes totally and fatally. The law of God is not to be preached as if it were opposed to the gospel, but as blended with it; according to the fine expression of Mr. Coleridge, as the "co-organized part of one organic whole." He who should preach the doctrine of election, as a cold, abstract and philosophic idea, does not preach it as it is revealed to us in Scripture; where it is set forth in warm and living union with the cross of Christ, a truth most practical and animating, the brightest star which shines on the benighted soul of man. The decrees of God are not the unfeeling doctrine of the fatalist, crushing hopes and hearts; invariably are they presented by the inspired writers, in connection with the planning of the atonement. There is no canon of sacred rhetoric of greater importance to be observed by him who would be wise to win souls, than this; and we repeat again, that simple piety in the preacher's heart leads him most easily to conform to it. The mind, by the principles of its constitution, associates every thing with that which occupies the place of its master-passion. What else is piety than an absorption of the soul in the love of Christ? It lives, and lingers, and looks and loves, where love was martyred; and hence, as by instinct, it sees and feels what is the "proportion of faith;" it graduates the importance of every doctrine by measuring its distance from the centre, and resolving all truth into one great fact, qualifies one, at once, to obtain that "intuition of unity, which is the end of all philosophy."

If the success of the preacher depends, under God, on *what* he preaches, then is it important to observe in farther illustrating this part of our subject, that high spiritual attainments most effectually preserve him from those topics of discourse which vitiate the eloquence of the pulpit.

Conspicuous among these is *controversial preaching*. Far are we from implying that there are no occasions in which the *preacher* of the gospel is justified in direct attempts to controvert the opinions of others. We refer to that which is habitual,—the product of a controversial spirit. If it be a law of the mind, that the emotions correspond to those objects, with which the attentive faculties are most conversant, how little tendency can there be, in this style of discourse, to excite religious affections. It may make logicians acute and skilful, but never converts to Christ. It may make theologians, but Christians sel-

dom. Yet is there no preparation for the pulpit which is so easy, and none to which in certain states of mind, a preacher is so much tempted as this. To individuals of certain qualities, the temptation is irresistible. Far easier is it to detect the sophistries, expose the absurdities of false reasoning, than to unfold and enforce a spiritual truth, in all its simplicity, clearness, and power. Except one possess a mind balanced with extremest accuracy, together with piety of an uncommon purity and power, it may be looked upon as a great misfortune to be brought into near vicinity to a conspicuous error. Without these qualifications he will unconsciously acquire the habit of contemplating truth only under one aspect. He preaches, not with a direct aim, to the consciences of all, but with a side-way reference to a certain few. His mind runs in a groove. His calculations are all made for one meridian. He is under a species of hallucination, losing sight of the stupendous revolutions of God's great plan, behind a very small object. The chameleon darkens in the shadow of him who bends over it; and the mind of such a one is discolored through and through by the towering form of error.

In several ways does a spirit of uncommon piety operate to restrain or regulate this practice. Indeed, all the restrictions and limitations which pertain to this whole subject are the offspring of a meek and intelligent piety. It is itself indifferent to all minor and unessential differences; mindful chiefly of one thing, a resemblance to the great object of its own love. It is not the spirit of exalted piety which is so keen-eyed to detect every trivial departure from our own mode of thinking; or which is ready to be alarmed or offended at the provincialisms of a religious technology. Not more certainly does the secret well reveal its presence by the verdure which it nourishes, than does warm-hearted piety discover itself by a generous oblivion of all unimportant differences, and a superior love for all such, as amid indefinite varieties, exhibit the general resemblance of a family likeness. Official religion, forms, modes, rites, ceremonies, in short nothing extrinsic and casual can ever become the main topics of his discourse, whose heart glows with tender, ardent, spiritual affections.

This influence of piety in regulating a controversial style of preaching is farther apparent as it tends to rectify the notion that great zeal for the truth is of paramount importance. Some are accustomed to cite the words of the apostle, "first pure,

then peaceable," as if they really meant that religious affections were of less consequence than an agreement of opinions. Belief of the truth is indeed of vital consequence ; but it is so because it is a means of something higher and better. Perfect conformity of opinion is not enough to satisfy heaven-born piety. The life is more than meat, and the body than raiment. Purity of doctrine may exist without sufficient vitality to keep it from putrefaction. Sticks and stones and grass, all heterogeneous materials, says Leighton, may be *frozen* into one mass. Defection and error have ever been the legitimate and undeniable product of lifeless creeds and conformities : just as the fairest and manliest forms, when life forsakes them, nourish decay and breed corruption. Dr. Pusey, of Oxford, some of whose opinions have more recently given him great notoriety, twelve years ago, writing concerning the cause of the great defection in Germany, has given very important testimony on this point. " It is a problem," says he, " of immense interest and importance to solve, how Germany, from having been, in appearance at least, sound, became, by a rapid change, and to a fearful extent, an unbelieving church. I was startled, when Neander, on my asking him to what he ascribed the progress of unbelief in Germany, said : '*The dead orthodoxy.*' I was much prejudiced at first against the opinion, but came at last to no other result." It is a fatal mistake to make that as a chief end of the ministry, which is, after all, but a means to something higher ; the intellectual is subordinate to the moral ; and neither reason nor Scripture permits us to seek an exact conformity of opinion, as an ultimate object of greater importance than the life and power of religion in the soul.

All this is verified by a reference to events in the history of the church. Seasons of truth are not always times of spiritual prosperity. Mr. Taylor, the author of the *Natural History of Enthusiasm*, calls attention to the striking fact, that the Reformation, though a season of *renovation*, was not one of *enlargement* ; and he accounts for this on the ground, that though it was a time of *truth*, it was not a time of *love*. We speak of the men of that day with unfeigned reverence and gratitude. Far easier is it to enter into their labors, than to have borne the heat and burden of the day, as did they. There was a necessity, we suppose, that the preachers of that day should be men of almost impetuous qualities. The misfortune was, that not only were they as lions towards their enemies,

they had but little harmony among themselves. Hence the church, though delivered, like a captive, by their sturdy blows, did not spread and multiply as in the days of the apostles, making accessions from the wilderness and solitary places ; and because of these vain janglings, the church was given up to the spirit of discord, and thence sank through the natural stages of formality and frivolity and absurdity and unbelief.* Oh, that is a most unnatural divorce between zeal for the *truth* and the spirit of *love*. Without the latter, the former is always incomplete, like Milton's lion, the one half rampant, shaking its brindled mane, ere the remainder was freed from the sod.

Nor have we yet adverted to the most material influence of a preacher's piety, in preventing a controversial style. The motives of good men, the best of men, are complex. That is sometimes mistaken for a regard for the honor of truth, which, in the eye of God, deserves not such a name. How much is a pure and simple piety needed, to decide one *when* to speak, and *how* to speak, in controverting the opinions of others, from the sacred desk ! Unless an angel from heaven disturb the waters, they will possess no power to heal.

What has been said of the influence of piety in protecting the pulpit from the intrusion of a controversial style, is true also of a *philosophical and speculative spirit*. But here there is need of greater discrimination. If any man on earth should be a philosopher in the best sense of the word, it should be the Christian minister. He, whose province it is to inform, convince and direct the mind, should himself be familiar with the laws of mind ; he whose duty it is to solve the difficulties of conscience, should understand full well all the phases and phenomena of conscience ; and he is obviously unfitted for the high office of God's ambassador who *cannot* give to an inquiring spirit the reasons of the truth which he declares. Qualifications like these, however, are the very antipodes of that spirit which concerns itself exclusively with modes, and processes and reasons ; which erects private speculations into matters of religious importance ; and which asserts an abstract notion of its own after the same manner as Warburton is represented by a critic as having uttered some of his opinions concerning the "Legation of Moses ;" as if the words had originally been applied to his philosophy, rather than the mountain of the law :

“If so much as a beast touch it, it shall be stoned, or thrust through with a dart.”

The limits which define a philosophical style of preaching are best understood by one whose heart yearns over lost men with earnest affection. He would not frustrate the very object which he most desires. Not content with demonstrating *how* men may repent, he would persuade them to repent. Not enough is it, in his view, to set forth the nature and process of faith; he would beseech his hearers to believe for themselves on the Lamb of God. Piety, in this matter, takes pattern from the word of God; which concerns itself with results rather than processes; with facts rather than modes; many of whose truths are always enfeebled by any attempt to demonstrate them; and we have yet to learn that the great Author of man and of inspiration did not himself best understand and illustrate the true methods of conviction and persuasion.

There is yet another cast of preaching, differing totally from those already mentioned, but, like them, utterly failing of the great design of the pulpit; against which piety in the heart of the preacher is the only safeguard. The poet Burns said he never could read the closing chapters of the Apocalypse without being affected to tears. There is much within the province of the preacher which is fitted to excite the sensibilities of genius as well as those of religion. There is scarcely a fact in Scripture which is not invested with such pathos or sublimity, as, in skilful hands, may be made the means of the highest and most pleasurable emotion. How easy for one to discourse with great effect on death, with all its sad and mournful associations, without even suggesting the necessity of seasonable preparation for standing before God; the judgment-day, with its flames and convulsions, and imposing array, has often been described without the least disturbance to conscience; and even the crucifixion of the Son of God, so tender, so awful, has been rehearsed in plaintive words and mournful cadence, till preacher and hearer have been transferred from the sphere of religious feeling to the region of poetic excitement. Feeling is produced, but it is not of the right kind. Emotion is generated, but not to save. Tears are made to flow, but not of godly sorrow. Considered simply as means of exciting the sympathies and imagination, nothing can be compared with the simple facts and verities of Scripture. But will the spirit of piety be satisfied with such an employment of

them? Was the gospel intended only for dramatic effect? In the hour of retirement and self-examination, when the man of God solicitously inquires what has been the result of his labors, is it enough to know that he has been unto the needy as one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument? Nay, verily. The words of the faithful preacher are something more than a plaintive song. Not content with playing about the outer courts of the soul, he presses into the very citadel of life, and lays the solemn claims of God before the heart and conscience.

Thus far have we adverted only to the effect of a preacher's piety, with reference to the *topics* which are made conspicuous in his ministrations. Nor is this immaterial. One thing only is the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation; and except this be preached, and preached aright, men may be pleased, instructed, moved, but never persuaded to become reconciled unto God.

Does nothing, however, depend on the *manner* in which even the truth is preached? Much every way. The very same words as pronounced by one, are cold and powerless; while from the lips of another, they are spirit and life. To-day, a death-like languor pervades the manner of the preacher; for it is a season of religious declension; the pulses of life are feeble at his own heart; and his pale lip attests that no seraph has touched it with a live coal from the altar of God; to-morrow, he is as the angel of God's strength, for religion is revived, and his own soul has felt its power.

In passing to speak of the effect of piety on the *manner of the preacher*, the most superficial will be struck with the coincidence between religious impulses and rhetorical laws. Towards the latter we do no despoise. Rather do we magnify them, for they are founded in truth. Aristotle, the earliest writer on rhetoric whose works are extant, informs us, that having observed that some speakers were more successful than others in producing conviction, and setting himself to inquire after the causes of the fact, he arrived at the conclusion that certain methods of speech are, in *the nature of things*, better adapted to convince and persuade than all others. "It is *impossible*," is the frequent remark, interspersed throughout his writings on this subject, "to effect persuasion in any other way." Dr. Whateley's distinction between *an art* and *the art of composition* is founded on the same philo-

sophic observation. Various rules may be given according to which a good composition may be produced, but laws there are to which *every* good composition, when produced, must conform; for they are as fixed as the laws of mind itself. Systems of rhetoric there may have been of which it may be said, as it was said of the ancient schools of declamation, the more one frequented them, the more unfitted was he for real life; but rhetorical laws there are to which every successful speaker conforms, though he may be wholly unconscious of their existence. These consist not in the trickeries of art; not in artificial tones and attitudes; but in the very soul and energies of speech. Many an obscure individual, whose soul has been on fire with a great subject, has, in his natural eloquence, unconsciously expressed himself with an exact conformity to those laws of speech, which more philosophic men have analyzed, classified, and denominated, in scholastic form, the art of speaking well. Important, indeed, to every preacher of the gospel, is a knowledge of that science, the principles of which, invariable as the laws of heaven, can never be contravened without entire failure. So far as a high state of religious feeling is serviceable at all to a preacher, as such, it is only as it leads him to conform more readily to those rudiments of rhetoric, which a less enlightened piety might affect to despise. Not antagonists are they, but allies.

The secret of a religious life is an entire conviction of the truth of God. But *self-conviction* is the soul of all eloquence. What better definition can be given of eloquence than this: "the power of imparting to others the emotions with which we are ourselves agitated?" "I believe, therefore do I speak," said the apostle; and herein lies the power of apostolic preaching. Earnestness, perspicuity, directness, simplicity and force are the natural products of an inward conviction. The attempt to convince others concerning that of which we are but partially convinced ourselves, is preposterous in the extreme. He who should aim at supporting an earnest oratory without earnestness at heart, is like the Spartan who studied long and hard to make a corpse stand erect; and the confession extorted from both will be the same: it wants "*τι ἐνδον*"—*something within*. Frigid and powerless must that be, which springs not from the heart. The preacher must be convinced and impressed with that which he would impart to others. Hell and destruction must have no covering. The wormwood and

the gall he must have tasted ; the demerit and wo of sin he must have seen ; the fullness and freeness of the provision which mercy has made for the perishing he must have discovered ; the glory of the cross he must have felt. Is not religion pre-eminently a matter of life and experience ? and how shall one testify in respect thereto, if but half-convinced of its reality, and a stranger wholly to its power ? We know, indeed, that the words of the gospel may be uttered ; and the arguments of the gospel advanced ; but something more than all this is necessary. An indescribable defect will still remain ; for how can one preach not himself, but Christ, if he has not first seen and felt the preciousness of Christ ? We will not stop to ask whether there be any correctness in the principle laid down by Cecil, that no man has the moral right to preach beyond his own religious experience ; for it will be admitted by all, that he who speaks from experience, when he speaks at all, must speak with the greater force and effect. A celebrated Roman actor, we are told, when performing the part of a bereaved and disconsolate father, brought in his hand the very urn which contained the ashes of his own daughter, knowing well, that if his own heart was broken and melted, his natural manner must be forcible enough. When a man delineates religion not so much as the result of study and reasoning, as a matter of his own history ; when he unfolds it with that inexpressible character of life and earnestness which accompany truths drawn from one's own bosom, he cannot be powerless. For consider the magnitude of those objects, with which religious experience is conversant ; and the power and volume of that emotion which is enkindled by the verities of Scripture. Under such an impulse, what can prevent one from being eloquent ? Peter the Hermit was eloquent, when, under the power of an affectionate illusion, he roused the courts of Europe to regain the holy sepulchre ; Patrick Henry was eloquent, when he struck the notes of freedom, his own soul exalted by the theme ; but what are all the objects which ever elicited the fervid eloquence of soldier or patriot, compared with those vast, august and dread realities which swim before the eye, and crowd upon the heart of the minister of Christ ? Convinced of these, he ascends the pulpit, bending under the burden of the Lord ; and like the apostle, even weeping as he tells his hearers they are enemies of the cross of Christ. His own spiritual experience has left no indistinctness in his mental perceptions.

There is nothing vague or uncertain, nothing obscure or unintelligible in the speech of such a one. He presses earnestly towards his object. His heart's desire is that his hearers may be saved. The power of that inward emotion he cannot conceal. Chains cannot bind it. Mountains cannot bury it. It thaws through the most icy habits. It bursts from the lip. It speaks from the eye. It modulates the tone. It pervades the manner. It possesses and controls the whole man. He is seen to be in earnest; he convinces; he persuades.

It is a most important service which religion has rendered not only to the eloquence of the pulpit but to every department of Christian literature, by putting *the faculties under the pressure and power of a grand motive*. The heart of man must be pressed and well-nigh crushed before it will give out its wine and its oil. "Wo is me," said Paul, "if I preach not the gospel of Christ." He who would preach with force and effect, must subject himself to that religious sense of responsibility, which is alone competent to bring into action every dormant faculty; and bear about with him the solemn and weighty reflection that he watches for souls as one that must give an account. Whenever the heart and conscience exert their combined power in this direction; every talent will be employed; the whole man is urged to full and efficient action. Cast such a man into prison, and like Bunyan, "ingenious dreamer," will he describe the progress of the soul to God; confine him to a bed of sickness, and like Baxter will he sweetly muse and write of the rest of the saint in heaven; blind his eyes, in total night, and "celestial light" will shine inward, enabling him, like glorious Milton, to

see and tell
Of things invisible to mortal sight.

Fetter him with chains, and in the very presence of kings and governors, he will, like Paul, reason about a judgment to come; nail him to the cross, his heart will still palpitate with inextinguishable love, and his latest breath will be spent, like his Master's, in praying and speaking for others' good.

Great advantage has he, who is well experienced in religion, by understanding the *right method of approach to his hearers*. He who knows himself, knows all others also. It is not the wit of the Pilgrim's Progress, keen and fine though

it is, it is not the ingenious form of its construction, nor yet the religious doctrine which it contains, which has made that work the greatest favorite among all classes and ages. It is the consummate knowledge of human nature which it exhibits and discloses; a knowledge which Bunyan acquired, not from books nor from travel, but from his own bosom. In intellectual qualities great are the differences which exist among men. In the essential qualities of the heart all are alike. There is a conscience in every man's bosom. He, accordingly, who has explored his own heart, observed the movements of his own conscience, and disciplined his own affections, is qualified to preach with effect wherever he goes. He addresses those principles and properties which are universal in man. Whether he proclaims his message to the intelligent and refined, or the ignorant and rustic; whether he preaches beneath the domes and turrets of a city cathedral, or in the cabins and forests of the most rural retreat, he deals with man after the same manner, and with the same effect. Circumstances may change, conditions vary, but *man* is everywhere the same. Hence is it that skillful preaching to the conscience and the heart is not only *powerful*, but always *popular* preaching. After Paul's first sermon in Antioch, the "Gentiles besought him that those words might be preached to them the next Sabbath; and the next Sabbath came almost the whole city together to hear the word of God." "Never man *spake* like this man," said the rude soldiers who were sent to apprehend our Lord. Doubtless he had been dealing with their consciences; and they dared not lay their hands on one who proved that he knew their very hearts. Observe the conversation of our Lord with the woman of Samaria. Under a most simple and beautiful imagery, he informed her, while sitting at Jacob's well, that in him, the Saviour of the world, she might obtain that water of life, which her soul needed. She could not comprehend his meaning. Again was the same illustration repeated, and revolved yet again. Still she remained obtuse, and ignorant of the spiritual truth. Now we see His divine skill. He changes his mode of approach. He touches her conscience. "Go call thy husband." She was living in sin. "He whom she then had was not her husband." Her heart was smitten through by his words; and she went exclaiming: "Come, see the man who told me all that ever I did." No preacher can be popular, in the best sense of the word, that is, capable of reaching and moving all classes of men alike, who

does not speak directly to the conscience and the heart ; for these are the qualities which, amid all the social and intellectual differences of men, are homogeneous and universal the world over. But to this power of speech, no man can attain, except through that intimate knowledge of himself which experimental piety is always sure to promote. The advice of Burns to a young friend is truly characteristic :

Conceal yourself as weel 's you can
Frae critical dissection :
But keek through every other man
Wi' sharpened, sleet inspection.

The young minister of the gospel, who would know his fellow-men, must examine his own heart. A strenuous conflict with one bosom sin will teach him more than all reading and observation, for as in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man. In aid of this knowledge, so indispensable to every preacher, the Bible is the most wonderful of books. Of all books, it is the best for the study of human nature. It is the only book which gives unity to human history and human character. Uninspired men trust to fancy for their delineation of men in the earlier ages of the world. Hence with the beings with whom a fanciful mythology first peopled the world, we have no sympathy ; they are not men, but demigods. But inspired history has given us a fresh, distinct and true impression of the human heart, ever since it first beat. We love to feel our oneness with the remotest antiquity. The past lives again when we look upon its *emotions* ; it lives in our own. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are men like ourselves ; and Sarah laughing behind the door of her tent, is the same as woman now. Send not the orator to the dramas of Shakspeare, for a knowledge of man, so long as inspiration holds up to nature its large, and true and perfect mirror. The Bible is the text-book of the rhetorician, as well as the exegete and theologian. Men, countries, nations perish ; but the affections of the heart are independent of place and time.

There is a certain other effect of piety which is but little thought of, but which is of great price, both to the man and the preacher. We mean its tendency to promote a love for the simple and the natural. It distastes every thing meretricious. It revolts from that which is forced and artificial. The first principle of

religion, to be *what we appear*, corresponds well to the first law of rhetoric to *appear just what you are*. Religion tends to promote individuality. It composes the turbid elements, and makes the character clear and transparent. It gives life and distinctness to all the original peculiarities of the man, sending the "living sap" to the topmost twig as well as the great trunk. The full tide of the sea conforms itself to all the indentations of the shore, be they small or large; and religion runs not men into one mould, but brings out all the distinctive features of each individual; qualifying him to be just what God made him. Wonderful is this power of the simple, the true, the natural!

Other influences of piety there are, in aid of the preacher, to which we can give no more than a passing allusion. Such is its direct effect upon his hearers, if we may so express it, as a conductor to impression. Quintilian, Cicero, and every writer of antiquity on the rhetorical art have mentioned among the essential qualifications of an orator, that he should be a *good man*. 'Tis true, in their passionate zeal for a favorite science, ancient rhetoricians claimed for it much which it could not appropriate to itself exclusively, since Milton's Belial was eloquent. But certain it is that persuasion in regard to that which is good is not easily effected except there be a feeling of confidence in the goodness of him who speaks. It is really, indisputably so with every preacher of righteousness. Confidence in his moral qualities is the great power which binds him to his hearers. Great are the advantages and opportunities for producing impression which he possesses. He associates with men on peculiar terms. He goes into the very sanctuary of domestic privacy. The portals of the heart are opened to his fidelity. Emotions which are told to no other, are told to him. His words are received with deference. But it is because of his character as a man of God that it is so. Let the confidence which is felt in his piety be impaired in the least; let his face lose the brightness which it has when coming from before God; and he becomes at once as other men, the rod of his success is broken, the secret of his power is gone.

After all, whatever aids and advantages the preacher may possess, in performance of his appropriate work, he must, at length, come to feel, that weak and worthless are the utmost endeavors of man, of themselves; and the same spirit of piety which enables him to speak most forcibly to men, leads him also to plead most fervently with God. It was the saying of a dis-

tinguished French divine that one half of the work of a preacher was to be achieved in his closet. It is true to the letter. His relations are both God-ward and man-ward. While pleading with men, without God he can do nothing. Not only has he to come forth unto his brethren; he must also go in unto the Great King, bearing the names of his people on his breast-plate. The celebrated sermon of Dr. Livingston in the kirk of Schotts, which resulted in the hopeful conversion of five hundred souls, was preached after a whole night spent in prayer. In ways which we can never define, the prayers of a devout preacher facilitate and perpetuate the impressions of the truth. Those sermons have accomplished the most, which were written with many tears, preached with fervent ejaculations, and followed by earnest prayer.

What, now, is the testimony of facts on this whole subject? Who have preached the gospel with the greatest effect? The very first time the gospel, distinctively as such, was proclaimed, three thousand were converted at once. Whenever the apostles spake in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, *great multitudes* believed. To what causes are such astonishing effects to be ascribed? To the miraculous prerogatives with which the apostles were invested? Little else, do we believe, did miracles accomplish than to furnish the truth that vantage-ground, which, now that its evidences are established, it possesses, without their aid. Shall we resolve them into the surpassing intellectual qualities of the apostles? The sturdy native sense of the fishermen of Galilee we cannot sufficiently admire; but thousands there were among their hearers, superior to them in learning and education. Perhaps their hearers were especially favorable to the truth. Never was prejudice half so inveterate, or hate so active. The Scribe was indignant. The Pharisee swept haughtily away. Philosophy uttered her sage contempt. The Stoic frowned. The Cynic sneered. The Epicurean jested. Yet whole cities and nations were moved. Their words were accompanied by the mighty power of God! 'Tis true. Without this they would have spoken in vain. But live we not under the dispensation of the Spirit, as well as they? And is not the promise of the same Spirit made to us as to them? Was not the experience of the day of Pentecost only the beginning of that which is yet to be repeated in a still larger measure? And are not certain modes of feeling, speaking and acting more coincident with the Spirit than all others? We

cannot mistake. The first heralds of the gospel were men, whose minds were thoroughly convinced of the truth of God ; who had felt the power of the world to come ; whose whole souls were animated by the motives and inflamed by the desires of religion ; who gave themselves wholly to prayer, and under the irrepressible energy of this inward faith, they spake to the hearts of their hearers. Whole volumes are contained in the concise but glorious biography of Barnabas. "He was a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith, and much people was added unto the Lord." Who, since their day have been the most successful preachers of the gospel ? We think not first, of such men as Barrow, rich though he is as Pactolus with his sands of gold ; not the courtly Tillotson, the silvery sweetness of whose speech made men forget the very salvation it was appointed to proclaim ; not South, always over tempted by his wit and skill, as was the oriental Prince to display his adroitness, and the temper of his blade, by decapitating men at a stroke ; not Horseley, moving only with measured step and solemn pomp, like a Castilian in his armor ; not Paley, Alison, and Blair, clear, correct, ornate, but just as far as possible removed from the mode of reasoning on sin, and a judgment to come which made Felix tremble. The service which such men have rendered is of its own kind ; nor is it of an ephemeral character. It has been justly claimed by Robert Hall as the peculiar boast of the English nation to have produced a set of divines, like these, who, being equally acquainted with classical antiquity, and inspired writ, and capable of joining to the deepest results of unassisted reason, the advantages of a superior illumination, have delivered down to posterity a body of moral instruction, more pure, more copious and exact than subsists among any other people ; and had they infused a more evangelical spirit and life into their discourses, insisting more on Jesus Christ as the foundation of all morality, they would have left us nothing to wish and nothing to regret. But when we speak of *preachers* more readily do we think of Howe, Usher, Flavel, and even the Newtons and Doddridges of a later day ; men who, in the splendor of particular talents were more than equalled by the illustrious names we have just repeated ; but the fragrance of whose piety has come down even to us, and will live forever. Baxter rises before us serious, earnest, pungent, the secret of whose power was that he abode with God ; Whitfield, not unadorned with the graces of the schools, but whose fervid

piety was the chariot of fire in which he mounted upward to the sky ; and our own Edwards, than whom, if tradition does not mislead, no man has preached the gospel with greater effect, who, though he dwelt on the "top of metaphysical Niphates," made that the Tabor of prayer and transfiguration, the very mount of God.

It is a singular phenomenon in the process of education that many would rather be suspected of wickedness than weakness ; and more patiently would they bear the imputation of a defective piety, than defective intellect. But why is it so ? Is not the moral the higher property of human nature ? Are not the affinities and gradations of immortal life to be decided wholly by moral qualities ? Is there not truth in the trite expression of the poet : "The Christian is the highest style of man ?" That, in addition to the temptations which are common to all, others of a peculiar kind are incident to the occupation of a preacher, cannot be questioned. Insensibly may he acquire the habit of looking at truth only with an intellectual and professional eye ; and so starve his own soul, amid the abundance of bread which he dispenses to others. If these remarks should serve to deepen the impression on the mind of any one who is looking forward to the sacred office, that his duty and interest and hopes as an individual, and his entire success as a preacher are identical, they will not be in vain. If those who have already made trial of the holy ministry were asked, in what respects they would amend their course of preparation, if it were possible to recall it, their testimony, we doubt not, would be singularly unanimous ; "We would not study less, but we would pray more. The intellectual study of the word of God, in all its parts, we would prosecute with doubled diligence ; but much more time would we devote to its simple devotional perusal ; partaking of the pure milk of the word that we might grow thereby, and often bowing the knee to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would grant unto us the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him ; the eyes of our understanding being enlightened, that we may know what is the hope of our calling, and what are the riches of the glory of his inheritance among them that believe." God forbid, that the time should ever come when the churches of our beloved land shall be forced to choose between pious ignorance, and frigid scholarship. We believe that time will never come. The future wears to our eye a hopeful aspect. We are confident that the golden age of the

church and the world is not receding, but approaching. We look forward to the time when extremes shall meet and combine to form the true circle; when religion, enriched and adorned with all the spoils of science, shall put on her imperial robes and assume her unlimited sceptre; when the ministers of religion shall come forth to men, like the High Priest from the Holy of Holies, exalted and serene from communion with God, fragrant with the sweet odors of heavenly affections, their hearts suffused with human sympathies, and lips burning with seraphic fire. Isaiah's glowing lips, when foretelling the glories of the Redeemer's kingdom, first uttered what may be received as a description of every true minister of the everlasting covenant; "The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and *the fear of the Lord.*"

ARTICLE IV.

EXAMINATION OF CERTAIN POINTS OF NEW ENGLAND HISTORY, AS EXHIBITED BY PRESIDENT QUINCY IN HIS HISTORY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, AND BY OTHER UNITARIAN WRITERS.

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THE following article, as will appear from its plan and its peculiar phraseology, was prepared as a *Review of President Quincy's History of Harvard University*, with the intention of publishing it in the American Biblical Repository. But having been anticipated by the very able review of the same work "by one of the Professors of Yale College," I have consented, at the suggestion of the Editors of the Repository, to submit my article for publication, under another title. It will be seen, that the design of the two articles is very different, and that there is really no interference between them.

"This History," says President Quincy "had its origin in the following circumstances. In March, 1836, the author accepted an invitation from the Corporation of Harvard University, to prepare a Discourse, to be delivered on the second centennial anniversary of its foundation, in commemoration of that event, and of the founders and patrons of the seminary. From the researches into which he was

led by this undertaking, it became apparent that these topics could not be satisfactorily investigated before the day fixed upon for the celebration. The author, therefore, decided to prepare such a general sketch of events and characters as might be comprised within the limits of an occasional address, and to announce his intention of attempting to do justice to the subject in a work of more enlarged form and permanent character."

As the result of this attempt, the public are presented with the volumes before us,—volumes which, for beauty and finish of mechanical execution, have probably not been surpassed by any that have issued from the American press.

President Quincy divides his *History* into "four great periods; each embracing about fifty years. The first period terminates with the college charter, granted in 1692. The second extends from this time to the accession of Holyoke to the presidency, in 1736. The third includes the succeeding years to the accession of Willard, in 1780. The fourth embraces the time subsequent."

"During the first period," continues our author, "the college was conducted as a theological institution, having religion for its basis, and chief object. Although the charter of the college gave it no sectarian bias, it was, without question, regarded by both the clergy and the politicians of the period, as an instrument destined to promote and perpetuate the religious opinions predominating at the time," i. e. Calvinism.

This being the case, President Quincy is led to wonder that the seminary was founded without a creed.

"We might expect to find, in the early charters, some form of sound words, some creed, some catechism, some *medulla theologiæ*, established as the standard of religious faith, to which every one, entering on an office of government and instruction should be required to swear and subscribe." p. 45.

This fact, which seemed so strange to our author at the first, and on which he hazards the conjecture (which has no foundation in truth) that "the early emigrants could not agree concerning points of religious faith," is satisfactorily explained by him, in the progress of the history.

"In the form of government established" by our fathers, "neither subscription to creeds, nor declaration of articles of belief was required. Nor were they necessary. The principle, that none should be a freeman of the state who was not a member of the church, suffi-

ciently secured the supremacy of the religious opinions of the predominant party. The inquisitorial power was vested in the church and its officers. The state thus enjoyed the benefit of that power, without the obloquy attached to its exercise.—Creeds and confessions of faith were equally unnecessary in the foundation of the college, either as a condition of office, or of obtaining the benefits of the institution. The magistrates of the jurisdiction, and the elders of the specified Congregational churches, were the overseers of the college. They were all necessarily church members, and on the uniformity of the faith of the churches they relied for the perpetuity of religious opinions which they deemed fundamental.” p. 196.

To all this it may be added, that the early churches of Massachusetts actually *had* a creed, or public confession of faith. In proof of this we appeal to the original Preface of the Cambridge Platform.

“Being called upon,” say the Synod, “by our godly magistrates, to draw up a public confession of that faith, which is constantly taught, and generally professed among us, we thought good to present unto them, and with them to our churches, and to all the churches of Christ abroad, our professed and hearty assent and attestation to the *whole* confession of faith (for substance of doctrine) which the Reverend Assembly” (the Assembly of Divines at Westminster) “presented to the religious and honorable Parliament of England; excepting only some sections in the chapters of the Confession, which concern points of controversy in church discipline; touching which we refer ourselves to the draught of church discipline in the ensuing treatise.”

From this it appears that the Synod of 1648 as really adopted and recommended the Westminster Confession of Faith, as they did their own Platform of Discipline; and both were alike accepted by the churches and the government. The churches, having thus received a *public* creed or confession of faith, and the government being in the hands of church members, it was deemed unnecessary to multiply particular confessions. On the settled uniformity of the faith of the churches, as President Quincy remarks, our fathers thought that they might safely rely, “for the perpetuity of those religious opinions which they deemed fundamental.”

The circumstances under which Harvard College dates its origin are most honorable to the early settlers of New England, and are eloquently set forth by President Quincy.

“They waited not for days of affluence, of peace, or even of domestic concord. The first necessities of civilized man, food, raiment, and shelter, had scarcely been provided; civil government and the wor-

ship of God had alone been instituted, when the great interests of *education* engaged their attention. Their zeal was not repressed by the narrowness of their territorial limits, not yet extending thirty miles on the sea coast, nor twenty into the interior; nor yet by the terror of a savage enemy, threatening the very existence of the settlement; nor by the claims on their scanty resources which an impending Indian war created; nor by the smallness of their numbers, certainly not then exceeding five thousand families; nor yet by (the most unhappy and most ominous to their tranquillity of all) the religious disputes in which they were implicated.* It was under a combination of disastrous and oppressive circumstances, any one of which would have deterred men of less moral courage and intellectual vigor from engaging in any such general design,—on the eve of a war with the fiercest and most powerful of all the native tribes,—the Antinomian controversy at its highest and most bitter excitement; an unexplored wilderness extending over their fragile dwellings its fear-inspiring shades; in the day time, the serpent gliding across their domestic hearths, or rattling its terrors in their path; in the night, their slumbers broken by the howl of the wild beast, or by the yell and war-whoop of the savage;—it was amidst a complex variety of dangers which, at this day, the imagination can neither exaggerate nor conceive, that this poor, this distressed, this discordant band of Pilgrims set about erecting a seminary of learning, and appropriated for its establishment a sum equal to a year's rate of the whole colony.† For a like spirit, under like circumstances, history will be searched in vain." pp. 7, 8.

The school had but just commenced operations, under its first master, Eaton, when, in 1638, the Rev. John Harvard died, and bequeathed one half of his whole property, and his entire library, to the institution. This noble example not only gave a name to the rising seminary, but excited others to liberality in the same cause.

"The magistrates led the way, by a subscription among themselves of two hundred pounds, in books, for the library. The comparatively wealthy followed, with gifts of twenty and thirty pounds. The needy multitude succeeded, like the widow of old, casting their mites into the treasury." p. 12. "We read," says Peirce, in his *History of Harvard University*, "of a number of sheep bequeathed by one man; of a quantity of cotton cloth, worth nine shillings, presented by another; of a pewter flagon, worth ten shillings, by a third; of a fruit-dish, a sugar spoon, a silver-tipt jug, one great salt, and one small trencher salt by others." p. 17.

Nathaniel Eaton, who was excessively tyrannical and cruel in his government, was soon discharged from all connection

* Referring particularly to the troubles occasioned by Mrs. Hutchinson, and her party.

† The sum raised at first was 400 pounds.

with the school. After a short interval, he was succeeded by Rev. Henry Dunster, who first received the title of President, and under whom the seminary began to be familiarly denominated *the College*. He was a learned, devoted, and efficient officer, who accomplished for the institution all that the straitened circumstances of the times would admit. He continued in the government until 1654; and might have continued longer, had he not fallen, as Cotton Mather expresses it, "into the briars of antipedobaptism;" and had he not considered it as not only his right, but his duty, to urge his peculiar opinions upon others. It was during the presidency of Dunster, and at his solicitation, that contributions were taken up in all the New England colonies, for the benefit of the college, consisting of from a peck to a bushel of corn or wheat from each landholder. Would the farmers of New England bear such a contribution now, in aid of any public literary institution?

President Dunster was succeeded by Rev. Charles Chauncy, whose connection with the college, during the next seventeen years, seems to have been prosperous and happy,—except that he was often straitened for the means of support. His opinions also differed from those of the colonists generally on the subject of baptism; not that he called in question the duty of infant baptism, but he thought that immersion was the proper mode. It should be remarked, however, that neither Dunster nor Chauncy seem to have had any scruples as to continuing their communion with the Congregational churches.

The successor of President Chauncy was Rev. Leonard Hoar, who was both a clergyman and a physician. He was an early graduate of the college, but had spent most of his public life in England. He soon became unpopular, both with the students and the corporation, and resigned his office after about two years.

The Rev. Urian Oakes, another graduate of the college, and pastor of the church in Cambridge, was elected the successor of Dr. Hoar. He continued in office till his death, in the year 1681, and is spoken of by Cotton Mather as "faithful, learned, and indefatigable, in all the duties of a president."

After the death of President Oakes, there seems to have been a difficulty in finding a person of suitable qualifications, who was willing to accept the vacant chair. The office was tendered, successively, to Rev. Increase Mather of Boston, and to Rev. Samuel Torrey of Weymouth; both of whom thought it their

duty to decline. In 1683, Rev. John Rogers was chosen and inaugurated, but did not survive the event a year. In 1685, Rev. Increase Mather was requested "to take special care of the government of the college, and to act as president, until a further settlement be made." Mr. Mather retained this relation sixteen years, during eight of which he held, in form, the office of president; although he was not dismissed from his church in Boston, and never, except for a few months, was a stated resident at Cambridge.

Up to this period, the classes at Cambridge had usually consisted of from two, three, or four students to the number of eight or ten. During the presidency of Mather they increased, so that the classes often consisted of more than twenty. In 1682, a new college edifice was finished, denominated Harvard Hall, which stood till it was destroyed by fire, in 1764.

As the presidency of Mather was a deeply interesting period, not only to the college, but also to the colonies—to both of which he sustained the most important relations—it will be necessary to pause upon it, and to inquire somewhat particularly into the leading incidents of his life, and the accuracy of some of President Quincy's statements respecting him.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF REV. INCREASE MATHER.

Increase Mather was a son of Rev. Richard Mather, an eminent non-conformist minister, who came to this country in 1635, and settled in Dorchester. The son was born, June 21st, 1639; became early a subject of divine grace, chiefly through the instrumentality of a pious mother; and graduated at Harvard College in 1656. The following year he commenced preaching, when he was only eighteen years old. He almost immediately went to England, where he remained about four years, and where he might have settled for life, had it not been for the persecutions of the times. He was ordained pastor of the Second or North Church in Boston, in 1664, in which station he continued to the end of his days,—a period of almost sixty years. His connection with Harvard College, in the capacity of president, commenced, as before stated, in 1685, and continued to 1701. This, as all know, who are acquainted with the history of New England, was a time of great political anxiety and convulsion, in which both the college and its president necessarily and deeply shared.

Towards the end of the year 1683, King Charles II. demanded that the colonial charter of Massachusetts should be given up to him, threatening, in case of refusal, that a quo warranto against it should be prosecuted. The question then was, whether the people should voluntarily *surrender* their charter, or have it forcibly taken from them. Mr. Mather contended earnestly, both in public speeches and from the press, against the surrender of the charter; alleging that by voluntarily yielding it, the people made themselves accessory to the plots of their enemies against their liberties; but if it were forcibly taken from them, the responsibility would rest solely on their oppressors. By his efforts in this matter, Mr. Mather incurred the deadly hostility of the infamous Edward Randolph, the emissary of the king, and afterwards the secretary of Sir Edmund Andros.

It was during the tyrannical administration of Andros, after the charter had been vacated, that Mr. Mather was sent on an agency to England, to lay the grievances of a distressed people at the foot of the throne, and to seek redress. And so great was the hostility of Andros and Randolph towards him, and so much did they fear his influence with the king, that he was obliged to embark on board ship in the night, and in disguise.

Mr. Mather was in England at the time of the revolution of 1689, which put an end to the intrigues and usurpations of James, and placed William and Mary on the throne. In repeated interviews with King William and his ministers, he sought the restoration of the former vacated colonial charter, with such enlargements as the altered situation of the country required. And when, at length, this boon was despaired of, he was chiefly instrumental in procuring a *new charter*, by which the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth were united, and under which they both lived and prospered, down to the times of the American revolution.

Nor was this all that this indefatigable servant of the public accomplished, during the period of his agency in England. He watched over the interests of the other colonies, besides Massachusetts, endeavoring to procure the restitution of their charters, and frustrating the designs of their enemies. From the general court of Plymouth he received a letter of thanks for his having prevented that colony from being annexed to New York.

He interested himself, also, in drawing up heads of agreement, and in bringing about a union, between the Presbyterian

and Congregational churches in England,—an object which, probably, would not have been accomplished, had it not been for his visit to that country.

Meanwhile, he was doing all in his power to promote the interests of Harvard College. He presented its claims before the king, and solicited for it the patronage of private individuals. He was instrumental, if not of first turning the thoughts of Mr. Hollis towards the college, at least of encouraging and confirming him in his design of making it the object of his bounty.

It should be further added, that during the four years he remained in England, he “in effect served his country on free cost.” “I never demanded,” says he, “the least farthing as a recompense for the time I spent; and I procured donations to the province and the college, at least *nine hundred pounds* more than all the expenses of my agency came to.”*

Mr. Mather, having procured a provincial charter, and having been honored with the nomination of the Governor, Lieut. Governor, and first Board of Council, who were to be appointed by the king, left England in March, 1692, and arrived at Boston about the middle of May. The General Assembly of the province was soon after convened, when “the speaker, in the name of the whole house of representatives, returned him thanks, for his faithful, painful, indefatigable endeavors to serve the country.”* The house also “appointed a day of solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God, through the province, for granting a safe return to his excellency the Governor, and the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather, who have industriously endeavored the service of this people, and brought over with them a settlement of government, in which their majesties have graciously given us distinguishing marks of their royal favor and goodness.”

It is true, however, that there was a pretty strong party in the province, who were dissatisfied with the results of Mr. Mather's agency; and with him, for his instrumentality in producing them. Some, in what had been the Plymouth colony, were dissatisfied, that they were united with Massachusetts. Not a few were dissatisfied, that in his nominations to office, under the new charter, they were omitted. But the principal ground of dissatisfaction was the charter itself. It was not the

* Remarkables, etc., pp. 151, 156.

old charter, which had been wrested from them; and it contained some restrictions on what were conceived to be popular rights, which, by the former charter, were secured. The dissatisfaction was the greater, because Mr. Mather's colleagues in the agency, Cook and Oakes, were not in favor of accepting the charter, but would have preferred rather to return to their country without any. It admits not of a doubt, however, at the present day, that Mr. Mather acted *wisely* in this most important business. The restoration of the former charter *could not be obtained*. And if it could, without important modifications, it would not have been adapted to the altered and enlarged state of the colony. And had the agents returned without any charter, the way had been left open for some second Andros to come, and crush, and revolutionize the country.

Mr. Mather assumed, indeed, a high responsibility, in consenting to act in so important a matter, without the concurrence of his colleagues; but the more credit is due to him on this account, and it belongs to posterity to award him this credit. It is impossible to conceive what New England might have been called to suffer,—what had been the fate of its churches, its schools, and its free institutions,—had not the venerable Mather, with a far-sighted wisdom, and an unblenching firmness, seized the favorable opportunity, and accepted the charter which King William offered him. By this act of his life, he lost somewhat of his former popularity, and exposed himself to no little reproach, especially from such men as Elisha Cook, who loved to harangue about popular rights; but he met the decided approbation of the wise and good, among his *cotemporaries*, both in this country and in England;* while historians of *later* date,

* The following extract of a letter, signed by twelve of the dissenting ministers of London, among whom were William Bates, John Howe, Samuel Annesly, and Isaac Chauncy, and sent by Mr. Mather, on his return, "to the much honored General Court, at Boston, New England," will be read with interest in this connection. "Much honored gentlemen: The restoring of your charter, upon which the security and public good of your colony depends, we congratulate with as joyful affections, as with tender resentments we condoled the deprivation of it. When your and our state was in appearance desolate, beyond human power and counsel to redress, then deliverance came from above; and in our deep darkness the

even those, as we shall see, who are not disposed to mete out to him any thing more than even justice, have decidedly approved of his conduct in this matter. Says President Quincy, in the work before us :

day-spring from on high visited us." "Some of you may wonder there has been so long delay, before your charter was finished ; but if you consider the torrent of affairs in court, after the late revolution, it will lessen the wonder. The truth is, your affairs were so difficult and thorny, that the rare union of the wisdom of the serpent and the innocence of the dove was requisite, in the commissioners managing of it. *A peremptory refusal of any charter, but of an uniform tenor with the first*, had been like too strong a medicine, that exasperates the disease, instead of curing it. In affairs of great importance, it is wisdom maturely to deliberate, and consider conditional events ; and by the foresight of inconveniences that will otherwise follow, to accept of such things as are *best*, with respect to their circumstances. We must, therefore, give this true testimony of our much esteemed and beloved brother, Mr. Increase Mather, that *with inviolate integrity, excellent prudence, and unfainting diligence, he hath managed the great business committed to his trust*. As he is instructed in the school of heaven, to minister in the affairs of the soul, so *he is furnished with a talent to transact affairs of state*. His proceedings have been with a caution and circumspection correspondent to the weight of his commission. With courage and constancy, he has pursued the noble scope of his employment ; and understanding the true moment of things, has preferred the *public good*, to the vain conceit of some, that *more might have been obtained, if peremptorily insisted on*. Considering the open opposition and secret arts that have been used to frustrate the best endeavors for the interest of New England, the happy issue of these things is superior to our expectations. Your present charter secures *liberty and property* ; and what is incomparably more, it secures the enjoyment of the *blessed gospel*, in its purity and freedom. Although there is a restraint of your power, in some things that were granted in the former charter, there are *more ample privileges* in other things, that may be of perpetual advantage to the colony. We doubt not but your faithful agent will receive a gracious reward above ; and we hope his successful service will be welcomed with your *entire approbation and grateful acceptance*."—*Remarkables, etc.*, p. 157.

“As Mr. Mather, in his negotiations in Europe, had conducted with exemplary fidelity, so, on his return, all his measures, to meet the exigency of the occasion, were wise and prudent.” “He, who had taken so great a responsibility in favor of a new form of government, had surely a right to provide, that its first movements should be in the hands of his friends, and not be placed, by any false delicacy, at the mercy of its enemies. *His policy was eminently successful.* Whatever opinions we may be compelled to entertain concerning his measures and motives on other occasions, *his conduct in this great crisis of his country entitles him to unqualified approbation.* It is scarcely possible for a public agent to be placed in circumstances more trying or critical; nor could any one have exhibited more sagacity, and devotedness to the true interests of his constituents. By his wisdom and firmness, in acceding to the new charter, and thus assuming a responsibility of the weightiest kind, in opposition to his colleagues in the agency, he saved his country, apparently, from a rebellion or revolution, or from having a constitution imposed by the will of the transatlantic sovereign, possibly at the point of the bayonet. The event, though prosperous for his country, was to him an abundant source of calumny and animosity, and ended in his loss of political influence, and his severance from all subsequent public employment.” Vol. I. pp. 123, 124.

I have dwelt the longer on this great *public* act of Mr. Mather, on account of the importance of the act itself, and on account of its consequences, both to himself, and to New England. Justice to his character demands that we now turn back a little, and notice some of the earlier transactions of his religious life.

In the discussions which took place in this country, near the time of his settlement in the ministry, respecting the duty of parents, not members of the church, to own the covenant and bring their children to baptism, Mr. Mather first decided, with the venerable Davenport and President Chauncy, against the practice. But afterwards, he was induced to unite with his excellent father, his friend Mitchell of Cambridge, and many others in its favor.

Of the Reforming Synod, so called, which was convened in 1679, he seems to have been the prime mover, as he was certainly an active and leading member.

Mr. Mather was a strenuous supporter of the established faith and order of the New England churches; and when innovations were, at any time, attempted, they met from him a decided resistance. Near the close of the seventeenth century, an attempt was made to do away with the established practice of requiring of persons, admitted to the Lord's table, some satisfactory account of their religious experience. The Rev. William Brattle

of Cambridge was one of the promoters of this innovation. It was followed, in a little time, by the doctrine, openly promulgated by Mr. Stoddard and others, that *evidence of regeneration* is not to be required of candidates for the holy supper. This Mr. Mather regarded as a very dangerous error, and opposed to it the whole weight of his influence and exertions. He wrote a preface to his son's life of Mitchell,* in which he says, that "doctrinal knowledge and outward blamelessness are not sufficient qualifications for admission to the church; but that practical confessions, or some relation of the work of conversion, are necessary." At a later period, he engaged in controversy with Mr. Stoddard on the same subject, showing the unscriptural character of the views he advocated, and their dangerous bearing on the churches of New England.

About the same period, another innovation was attempted, if indeed it be not part of the same, at which Mr. Mather was greatly troubled. It was the abandonment, by particular churches, of their separate, independent action in the choice of their pastors, and their consenting to vote only in connection with the congregations. In the year 1697, the church of which Mr. Mather was pastor sent "a letter of admonition to the church in Charlestown, for *betraying the liberties of the churches*, by putting into the hands of the whole inhabitants, the choice of a minister." The same year, measures were taken for founding the church in Brattle Square, Boston, expressly excluding the distinct action of the church in the choice of a minister, and disclaiming "the requisition of any public relation of experiences, or any other examination than by the pastor, as the condition of admission to the Lord's supper." The Rev. Benjamin Colman, then a young man, and in England, was invited to become the first pastor of this church; and so confident were his friends that he could not be ordained over it in this country, that they advised him to obtain ordination in England.

One of the leaders in this innovation was Thomas Brattle, Esq., of Boston, assisted by his brother, the Rev. William Brattle of Cambridge, and Hon. John Leverett, afterwards president of Harvard College. I am the more particular in mentioning names, because the transaction was one which not only inter-

* It was of this Mr. Mitchell of Cambridge, that said: Baxter "If an œcumenical council could be obtained, Mr. Mitchell were worthy to be its moderator."

ested the feelings and distressed the heart of Mr. Mather at the time, but it materially affected his situation in after life.

At the request and through the mediation of neighboring ministers and others, the members of the new church consented to modify very considerably their original plan; so that Mr. Mather met with them, at the dedication of their house of worship, and even consented to preach on the occasion. Still, he was not satisfied with their proceedings; and he took occasion to express his dissatisfaction, in a treatise, published in the year 1700, entitled "The Order of the Gospel professed by the Churches of New England justified." This gave rise to a reply, and that to a rejoinder, in which more heat and bitterness were manifested on both sides, than consist with our modern notions of clerical decency and propriety.

Others besides the Mathers were induced to speak out on this occasion, and to utter a solemn note of warning to those who were bent upon departing from the established customs of the churches. It was at this time, that the venerable Higginson of Salem and Hubbard of Ipswich published their joint "Testimony to the Order of the Gospel in the Churches of New England;" in which they say:

"If any who are given to change do rise up to unhinge the well established churches in this land, it will be the duty and interest of the churches to examine, whether the men of this trespass are more prayerful, more watchful, more zealous, more patient, more heavenly, more universally conscientious, and harder students, and better scholars, and more willing to be informed and advised, than those great and good men who left unto the churches what they now enjoy. If they be not so, it will be wisdom for the children to forbear pulling down with their own hands the houses of God which were built by their wiser fathers, until they have better satisfaction."*

Although this controversy so far subsided as to occasion no palpable breach of fellowship between those concerned in it, still, a degree of coldness and distance was observable, and they seem to have been the objects of mutual suspicion and jealousy, during the greater part of their lives.† This was the more unhappy for Mr. Mather, because those, whose measures

* See Preface to Cambridge Platform, p. 10.

† Dr. Elliot says, that the friendship of Dr. Colman and Cotton Mather was renewed, several years before the latter died; and then they wondered how they could so long disagree."—*Biog. Dictionary.*

he had felt constrained to oppose, were the men chiefly concerned, at least for a time, in the direction and government of Harvard College.

It has been stated already, that Mr. Mather was called to the duties of the presidency, in 1685. These he continued to discharge, till 1688, when he entered on his embassy to England. During the four years of his absence, his parochial duties were discharged by his son Cotton Mather, who was ordained as his colleague, in 1684; and the college was committed to the care and instruction of Mr. John Leverett, and Mr. William Brattle, tutors. Mr. Mather returned, and the government of the province was organized under the new charter, in 1692. In the same year, he prepared a charter for the college, which received the sanction of the General Court. It was afterwards negatived in England; but while it continued in force, the corporation conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. It is remarkable that this degree had never before been conferred in British America; nor was it conferred again until, almost eighty years afterwards, it was bestowed on Rev. Nathaniel Appleton of Cambridge.

Repeated attempts were made, during the next seven or eight years, to procure a charter for the college, which should receive the sanction of the king; and in more than one instance, President Mather seemed on the point of embarking for England, with a view to the furtherance of this important object. But for one cause or another, these attempts all failed, and the college continued in an unsettled, and, consequently, an embarrassed state. During the troubles of this period, President Mather proposed, in repeated instances, to resign his office; but the proposition was discouraged and resisted by the corporation. It was an object with the General Court, to induce him to resign his *pastoral charge*, and to reside at Cambridge; but he could not be satisfied that this was his duty. To gratify the friends of the college, he did remove his residence there for a few months; but neither he nor his family seem to have been happy; nor were his people willing that he should be taken from them. Consequently he soon returned to Boston.

It was this question of residence, which finally closed his connection with the college. He seems not properly to have *resigned* his office; but on his refusing to reside at Cambridge, the duties of it passed out of his hands, and devolved on those of Rev. Samuel Willard, who was appointed vice-president.

That Dr. Mather was faithful and successful in the office of president, is testified by all who have written on the subject. Mr. Peirce, in his History of Harvard University, says:

"His services at the college were assiduous and faithful. The moral and religious instruction of the students had his particular attention. The college appears to have been in a flourishing condition, while he was at its head. Its numbers increased, and it was enriched, in no small degree, by the hand of munificence." p. 64. President Quincy also says: "That he (President Mather) was well qualified for the office, and had conducted himself in it *faithfully* and *laboriously*, is attested by the history of the college, the language of the legislature, and the acknowledgment of his contemporaries. It was honorable and useful to the institution to have for its head an individual, who had taken so large a share in the political, religious, and literary controversies of the times, and had in consequence acquired both celebrity abroad, and influence in his own country." Vol. I. p. 116.

Dr. Mather lived, after his connection with the college had been dissolved, twenty-two years; during which time, in addition to all his other labors, he issued from the press not far from fifty distinct publications,—the most of them on important practical subjects. In 1715, he received from the ministers of the province a flattering request to go to England on their behalf, with an address to George I., on his accession to the throne; but this he thought proper to decline.

"His old age," says Mr. Peirce, "was blessed with the inestimable satisfaction which flows from faith and hope, and from a vigorous exercise of the faculties and affections. He died, August 23d, 1723, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and was interred with all the honors due to his character, and to the rank he had so long held in society. He had been a preacher sixty-six years, during sixty-two of which he was connected with the North Church in Boston."

Dr. Elliot speaks of him as "the *father* of the New England clergy, whose name and character were held in veneration, not only by those who knew him, but by succeeding generations."*

VINDICATION OF THE CHARACTER OF INCREASE MATHER.

It remains that we inquire, more particularly than we have yet done, into the propriety and correctness of some of the representations of President Quincy and others, in regard to that

venerable father in Israel, of whose life and character a brief sketch has been given.

President Quincy charges him, in the first place, with an efficient instrumentality in producing and prolonging the excitement in New England respecting witchcraft. "That *both* the Mathers had an efficient agency in producing and prolonging that excitement, there can be, at this day, no possible question." Vol. I. p. 62. Of the connection of Cotton Mather with the subject of witchcraft, I shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter. How Increase Mather could have had any agency in *producing* the excitement referred to, it is impossible to conceive. The strange appearances at Salem commenced in February, 1692, when President Mather was in England, where he had constantly resided, and been most intensely occupied with the important subject of his agency, for nearly four years. He arrived at home, May 14th of this year, when the excitement was at its highest point. Shortly afterwards—as soon as it could be prepared—he published his treatise, entitled "Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcraft;" in which, "with incomparable reason and reading," he refuted the received doctrine of *spectral evidence*, on the ground of which so many innocent persons had been tried and condemned. Immediately "upon this, the governor pardoned such as had been condemned," and those that were accused were, I believe, in all cases acquitted. "The confessors, too, came, as it were, out of a dream wherein they had been fascinated; and the afflicted, in most instances, grew easy."* It would seem from this account of an eye and ear witness, that, instead of contributing to *prolong* the excitement, President Mather was a principal instrument in bringing it to a close. That he was a believer in witchcraft there can be no doubt; as who, in that age, whether learned or unlearned, judges or juries, physicians, ministers, or lawyers, were not believers in it? Even Thomas Brattle himself, who wrote a book in opposition to the proceedings of the times, was a believer in the *reality* of what was called witchcraft. He thought that, not only the afflicted, but most of the confessors, "were *possessed with the devil*; and therefore not fit to be regarded, as to any thing they say of themselves or others." But that Increase Mather had any instrumentality in *producing* or *prolonging* the excitement on this

* Remarkables, etc., p. 166.

subject, we believe to be a groundless accusation. He is expressly mentioned by Mr. Brattle, as one of those that "utterly condemned the proceedings" of the courts, affirming that, if persisted in, they would "ruin and undo poor New England."*

Another objection, or rather series of objections, urged by President Quincy against his venerable predecessor, grows out of his treatment of the Messrs. Brattle, Leverett, Colman and others, in reference to the founding of the Brattle-street Church, and the ecclesiastical innovations connected with that transaction. He represents President Mather as acting, in these proceedings, under the influence of "excited temper and wounded pride," as exhibiting "great violence and personality," an "ill governed and overbearing spirit," as roused "to such a height of indignation, as to lose all sense of prudence and character," "all patience and self-possession." Vol. I. pp. 133—143. But after much attention given to the subject, I can perceive no ground at all for these heavy accusations. That President Mather was conscientiously attached to the order of the New England churches, as established by the Cambridge Platform, and was disposed to discountenance any considerable departure from it, there can be no doubt. That he was especially dissatisfied with those alarming innovations which the Brattles and Mr. Leverett were laboring to introduce, is equally clear. For what were these innovations, according to the statement of President Quincy himself? These men, he tells us, "refused to inquire into the regeneration of communicants; denied the necessity of explicit covenanting with God and the church; admitted that persons, not communicants, might elect pastors; referred admission to the sacraments to the prudence and conscience of the minister; and held that admission to the pastoral relation might be valid, without the approbation of neighboring churches; and other not less obnoxious deviations from the early Platform and discipline."* Vol. I. p. 200. Now whatever Presi-

* Mass. Historical Collections, Vol. V. first series, pp. 75, 78.

† Could Dr. Colman and his supporters be consulted on the subject, they would say, I have no doubt, that this account of their "deviations" is quite too strong. Taking it, however, as it stands, it will be seen that it involves no dereliction in point of *doctrine*, no departure from the Calvinistic system of *theology*. We shall find, as we proceed, that Dr. Colman, and those associated with him were very decided Calvinists,

dent Quincy may think of these "deviations," President Mather certainly deemed them of most alarming import. He saw that, if they were not effectually discountenanced, these churches of New England (this "garden of the Lord," as our fathers termed it) were undone. He would be led, therefore, not by "excited temper or wounded pride," but by *the dictates of his conscience and the fear of God*, to oppose the threatened innovations, and to discountenance the men who insisted on promoting them. He would labor by all fair means (and I have yet to learn that he used any other) to counteract the example and influence of these men, (so far as their objectionable measures were concerned,) and to prevent the college from falling into their hands.

This was one cause, I have no doubt, which led President Mather, near the close of his connection with the college, to hesitate as to the duty of resigning his office. He had before wished and repeatedly proposed to resign; but now he seems to shrink back from it, fearing, probably, into whose hands the institution might fall. He could not think it right to leave his flock in Boston, and become a resident at Cambridge, but was willing to discharge the office of president, as he had done, to general acceptance, during the previous years; and if the legislature would not consent to this, he preferred that *they*, rather than himself, should take the responsibility of closing his connection with the college.

As little can it be doubted, that those who differed from him on questions of church order were exerting, at this time, an underhanded influence to get the college out of his hands; hoping and expecting that it might fall into their own. It was owing to their influence, in great measure, that the legislature pursued the course they did. As Cotton Mather tells the story, his enemies "obtained a vote, that no man should act as president of the college, who did not reside at Cambridge;" well knowing "that the Doctor would not remove his habitation from a loving people at Boston to reside at Cambridge, while the college was as it then was;" i. e. without a charter, and consequently in an unsettled, embarrassed state; and that, in this way, they should get the college out of his hands.*

I will not say that in President Mather's controversial publications, growing out of what he conceived to be the irregular

* Mr. Leverett was at this time a leading member, and I believe *the Speaker*, of the House of Representatives.

constitution of the Brattle-street church, there are no expressions which *we* may think unwarrantably severe. But thus much may at least be said,—the controversy was conducted with more decency on his part, than on the other; and the severe expressions, on both sides, are to be attributed more, probably, to the fashion of the age, than to the spirit and character of the men. And as Mr. Peirce justly remarks, “it is unfair to take a man out of his own age, and try him by the standard of another.”

It must be said also, in relation to this whole controversy, that the points for which President Mather contended were of a vitally important character. So he regarded them; and so they are regarded by evangelical Christians at the present day. He saw that if the principles of Stoddard, and the Brattles, and Leverett, and many others, in regard to the admission of persons to the church, were generally adopted, the churches, ere long, would be filled up with unconverted members, and even the pulpits with unconverted ministers, and that the vital power of the gospel, if not its most essential truths, would be lost sight of and discarded. He saw that if the churches gave up the primitive, inestimable right of electing, independently, their own ministers, very soon they would have ministers placed over them, from whose unholy influence they must flee away, or under it they must consent to remain, and be corrupted.

The experience of almost a century and a half has shown, that President Mather's forebodings were well founded. In regard to many of the Pilgrim churches, the worst that he feared from the mistakes of his contemporaries has been more than realized. And that the desolations resulting, in part, from the innovations then made had not an earlier and a wider spread is owing, in no small degree, to the resistance which he opposed to them. So that now, after the lapse of five generations, we may look back upon Increase Mather as the man, who, in the face of much obloquy and personal sacrifice, not only gave to Massachusetts a constitution of government, but saved the great body of her churches from a tide of ruin which was beginning to set in, and threatening to roll over them.

Another of President Quincy's objections to Dr. Mather relates to his treatment of Gov. Dudley. On the 12th of September, 1707, Vice President Willard died; and in the month following, John Leverett was elected President of Harvard College. His election was confirmed and he inaugurated on

the 14th of January, 1708. This election was, without doubt, displeasing to Dr. Mather. President Quincy thinks that he expected to be himself elected; or at least, that the office would have been given to his son. He says that Dr. Mather was so much displeased with Gov. Dudley, for defeating his own or his son's appointment, and favoring the election of Mr. Leverett, that he immediately addressed to the governor a letter, "breathing a spirit of abuse and virulence, of which the records of party animosity contain but few parallels." Vol. I. p. 201.

With respect to this letter to Gov. Dudley, I have several remarks to offer. And in the first place, if President Quincy's *dates* are correct (which there is some reason to doubt), the letter was written months before the death of Vice President Willard, or the election of Leverett, and of course could not have been prompted by any feelings which the writer entertained, in consequence of that event. The date of the letter, in the history before us, is "20th of January, 1707;" whereas Willard died in the September following; and President Leverett was not inaugurated till January of the next year. Vol. I. p. 201.

But whatever may be thought as to the correctness of dates, I remark, secondly, there is not in this letter of Dr. Mather a single word, or the remotest allusion, respecting any expectations of the writer as to the presidency, either for himself, or for his son. What President Quincy has published on this subject seems to be matter of pure suspicion, or conjecture. Neither does the letter contain the slightest allusion to the election of Mr. Leverett, or to any influence which the governor may be supposed to have exerted in favor of that event. Indeed, the letter contains but a single reference to the college, in any way; and that, as we shall see, is quite distinct and remote from the subject of the presidency.

But not to dwell on points of this nature, let us come to the letter itself. And in order to understand the full purport of it, it will be necessary to give a short previous account of Gov. Dudley. He was the son of Thomas Dudley, one of the first settlers and governors of the Massachusetts colony, and was graduated at Harvard College, in 1665. In younger life, he seemed to be truly religious, and used to speak of Dr. Mather as his "spiritual father." Whether he ever entered the ministry, does not appear; but it is certain that he was educated

for it, and was once talked of as a colleague for Dr. Mather in Boston. He soon engaged, however, in civil pursuits; after which his religious impressions seem to have presented no obstacle in the way of his ambition. He was in high favor with the oppressors of the colony, at the time when the charter was taken away, and afterwards. He was the first officer in the government before Andros came. Under him, he was president of the council, and chief justice, and was deeply concerned in all the oppressions of those troublous times.* In the subsequent revolution, when Andros and his creatures were imprisoned, Dudley was kept in close confinement with them, and was treated even more hardly than any of them, as being thought more inexcusable and guilty. He was ordered to England in 1689; and the next year was made chief justice of New-York. While Sir William Phipps was Governor of Massachusetts, Dudley exerted all his influence and cunning to injure him, hoping to succeed him in the government, if by any means it could be got out of his hands. During the short administration of Lord Bellamont, he was intriguing to secure favor, both in Old England and in New, that he might, if possible, be again seated in the chair of his native state. He had always professed a great regard for the Mathers, and had the address to procure a letter from Cotton Mather to King William, which had much influence in his favor.† He became governor of Massachusetts in 1702, in which situation he continued during the next fourteen years. "The first seven years," says Elliot, "were spent in debates with the house of representatives, or in private disputes with men who ceased not to accuse him of artifice and deception, of arbitrary conduct, and of enmity even to those privileges which they had obtained by the new charter."‡ It was near the close of these first seven years, that Dr. Mather, considering the former relations which had subsisted

* "Mr. Dudley *led the van* in that tragedy." Letter from Thomas Danforth to Increase Mather. Hutchinson's Collections, p. 567.

† In a letter to Increase Mather, dated May 17th, 1686, Mr. Dudley says: "For the things of my soul, I have these many years hung upon your lips, and *ever shall*; and in *civil* things, I am desirous you may know, with all plainness, my reasons of procedure, and that they may be satisfactory to you."

‡ Biog. Dictionary.

between himself and the governor, and being wearied and disgusted with the course of his administration, addressed to him the letter of which we now speak. Most gladly would we publish it entire in these pages, did our limits permit. It is a plain, searching, faithful letter, such as few governors of Mr. Dudley's character have ever received, and which he ought to have improved to his spiritual and eternal good.*

In the first place, Dr. Mather expresses his fears that the governor had been guilty of "*bribery and unrighteousness*;" and mentions several instances of this nature, which had been *sworn to* by some of the most respectable men in the province.

Next, he acquaints the governor with his fears that he "had been contriving to destroy the charter privileges of the province," and introduce another government, like that of Andros. And Mr. Bancroft affirms, in his History of the United States, that this was true. He says expressly, that "Gov. Dudley, and for a season his son also, became the active opponents of the chartered liberties of New England, endeavoring to effect their overthrow, and the establishment of a general government, as in the days of Andros."†

In the third place, Dr. Mather expresses to the governor his fears that he had been hypocritical and inconsistent, in respect to the college; particularly (if I understand him) in his attempts to revive, through the provincial legislature, the college charter of 1650, which he had often before represented as dead, and never to be revived, but by the authority of the sovereign. And President Quincy, it seems, is of the same opinion with

* This letter may be found in the Mass. Historical Collections, 1st series, Vol. III. p. 126. Cotton Mather wrote the governor a letter of the same date, on which I shall remark hereafter.

† Vol. III. p. 100. Mr. Bancroft further says, that Dudley "tried to destroy the liberties of Connecticut; prepared a volume of complaints; and urged the appointment of a governor over Connecticut, by the royal prerogative." p. 70. It was about this time, or a little earlier, that a letter from his son, Paul Dudley, to the English court, was intercepted, in which he says: "This country (New England) will never be worth living in for lawyers and gentlemen, *till the charter is taken away*. My father and I sometimes talk of the queen's establishing a court of chancery in this country." See Hutchinson's History, Vol. II. p. 140.

Dr. Mather, in regard to this point. He represents this act of Dudley, in reference to the college, as "apparently irreconcilable with the duties growing out of the relation in which he stood to the British crown. It was, in fact," says he, "a measure in *contradiction* of the avowed principles, which the government of the parent state had adopted and acted upon in relation to Massachusetts;"—"principles, which Dudley himself had *openly asserted* and *publicly maintained*." Vol. I. p. 159.

In the fourth place, Dr. Mather says: "I am afraid that the guilt of innocent blood is still crying in the ears of the Lord against you. I mean the blood of Leisler and Milburn." These men were concerned in the revolution in New-York, at the time of the accession of William and Mary, and were publicly executed, while Dudley was chief justice of that province. Lord Bellamont afterwards declared, that "these men were not only *murdered*, but *barbarously murdered*." Mr. Bancroft, in his history, speaks of their execution as "*judicial murder*." Vol. III. pp. 54-56. The English Parliament, it seems, were of the same opinion; for, by a special act, they removed the attainder from these executed men, and restored their estates to their families.

Dr. Mather's fifth and last fear for the governor was, that "the Lord is offended with you, in that you ordinarily forsake the worship of God, in the holy church to which you are related, in the afternoon of the Lord's day, and spend the whole time, after the public exercise, with some persons reputed very ungodly men."

In conclusion, Dr. Mather says: "How glad should I be, if I could receive satisfaction, that my fears of your being faulty in the matters I have faithfully mentioned to you are groundless; but if otherwise, I am under *pressure of conscience* to bear a public testimony, without respect of persons; and I shall rejoice, if it may be my dying testimony. I am now aged, expecting and longing for my departure out of the world, every day. I trust in Christ that, when I am gone, I shall obtain a good report of my having been faithful before him. To his mercy I commend you," etc.

Such is the celebrated letter of Increase Mather to Governor Dudley;—a letter which, in the judgment of President Quincy, "breathes a spirit of *abuse* and *violence*, of which the records of party animosity contain but few parallels." I have only to say farther in regard to it, that *I think not so*; and I doubt not that

this community, when they come to understand the subject, will wonder that President Quincy could have used such language, or come to such a conclusion, respecting it. For who, I will ask again, was this Governor Dudley? What was his *character*, in the estimation of his cotemporaries, and of those that have come after him? Only a year before the letter of Dr. Mather was written, a memorial was presented to "the queen's most excellent majesty," and signed by twenty of the more distinguished friends of New England, some in this country, and some in London, accusing him of nothing less than *treason*—the supplying of the open enemies of his country with provisions and ammunition.*

Gov. Hutchinson says of Dudley: "Ambition was his ruling passion; and perhaps, like Cæsar, he had rather be the first man in New England, than the second in Old."† Mr. Bradford represents him as "one covetous both of power and wealth, and as probably seeking for the former, as the best means of obtaining the latter." "He could flatter those in authority, of any description or party, for the promotion of his own ambitious designs."‡ Mr. Bancroft says: "The character of Dudley was that of profound selfishness." He "loved neither freedom, nor his native land." He "is left without one to palliate his selfishness."§ And President Quincy himself says, that Dudley was "vindictive, craving, ambitious." Vol. I. p. 100.

I deem it no disgrace to the Mathers that they lost the favor of such a man, and that, before quite abandoning him, they were disposed to deal with him in a plain and faithful manner. They evidently intended their letters for *his good*, and if he did not profit by them, the fault, I think, was chiefly his own.

It is further objected to Dr. Mather, that he was, to a great and even ridiculous extent, the dupe of his own impressions;—impressions which were generally received in prayer, and which he deemed of an almost supernatural character. The impression of this kind which has been chiefly dwelt upon, and in the issue of which he was disappointed, was one which he cherished, from about the year 1693, to the end of the century, in reference to an anticipated return to England. It was often impressed on him, during this period, and in like manner upon

* See Hutchinson's History, Vol. II. p. 145.

† Hist. of Mass., Vol. II. p. 194.

‡ Ibid., p. 94.

§ Hist. of U. States, Vol. III. p. 100.

his son, that "God would return him to England, and there give him an opportunity, in some way, greatly to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ. He seems to have *desired* such an event; and in several instances, the way was almost opened for the accomplishment of his wishes. But from various causes, he was disappointed. President Quincy regards these impressions of Dr. Mather and his son as so utterly unreasonable and enthusiastical, that he makes them matter of ridicule and reproach. He talks about their "genuflexions and prostrations, and supernatural spiritual elevations," and "glorious, heart-melting persuasions," in a manner which we deem offensive both to piety and taste; and resolves the whole, so far as Increase Mather was concerned, into "the natural wishes of his own heart," "the natural cravings of an ambitious spirit." Vol. I. pp. 81-109.

In reference to the subject here suggested, I remark, in the first place, that the current opinions and language of our fathers, in respect to various matters, natural and spiritual, were so different from ours, that if we are disposed to take them out of their own age, and from among their cotemporaries, and judge of them by our standards, it is not difficult to make them appear ridiculous. For example, if all that the apostolic Elliot said and wrote, with regard to the abomination of wearing wigs and long hair, were collected together, how easy it would be to turn him into ridicule. Or if Gov. Winthrop's account of the terrible judgment which befel Mrs. Dyer, in consequence of her having adopted the errors of Mrs. Hutchinson, (recorded in Vol. I. p. 261 of his Journal,) were copied out and held prominently up to the gaze and disgust of modern eyes, not only the excellent governor, but many of his cotemporaries, might be made to appear ridiculous enough. But it may be questioned whether such a procedure would be fair or generous. And I have the same scruples as to the propriety of ransacking *the diaries* of the Mathers (as it is their diaries alone which have furnished the grounds of the objection now before us) in search of materials for ridicule and reproach,—and especially for turning into ridicule their more secret and solemn acts of devotion.

The occasion requires, perhaps, that a few words be offered, with regard to the general subject of *impressions in prayer*. While I dissent entirely from much that has been written in our own times, in reference to what has been called "the prayer of faith," as being not only unscriptural, but of danger-

ous tendency, I still believe that there is such a thing as communion with God in prayer;—intimate communion, yes, heart-melting, heart-dissolving communion;—such as the venerable Mather sometimes enjoyed, when he prostrated himself in secret before God, and wet his study floor with tears. I believe, too, that Christians, who abound in prayer, have sometimes such *sensible assistance* in their supplications for particular events, that they can hardly resist the conclusion, when they rise from the duty, that the things prayed for will be bestowed. For they reason thus : ‘ God would not have afforded me such special assistance, in praying for this or that event, if he had not intended to hear the prayer, and grant the request.’ I see nothing enthusiastical or unreasonable in a conclusion such as this; though, to be sure, we are not infallible in judgments of this nature, more than in others, and they should be formed and followed with wisdom and caution.

I will go further, and say, in reference to this matter, that if holy, spiritual persons, while engaged in their devotions, should think that they received remarkable *impressions* from God, in regard to certain coming events, I would not ridicule them. I would not say that the thing was impossible. For I know that ‘ there are more things in heaven and earth than some men have dreamed of in their philosophy.’ I know, too, that some of the best Christians that have ever lived have pretended to receive such impressions, and the things of which they were in this way premonished have often come to pass. Repeated instances of this kind are sufficiently attested, as having occurred in the life of Dr. Mather. At the same time, I should feel, that even the best Christians were exceedingly liable to be deceived in regard to impressions of this nature, and consequently that it became them to say little about them; and more especially, that they should not suffer their *duties*,—their conduct,—to be much influenced by them.

After this expression of opinion with regard to the subject in general, let us return to the case of the Mathers. I class them both together, because they were both alike concerned in this matter. In the first place, they were both of them eminently persons of prayer. They observed more private fasts and vigils, and spent more *time* in their secret devotions—I believe, far more—than was common with Christians in their own age,—certainly, more than is common now. And not only so, there was, if we may judge from their private writings, a *spirit* and

fervor in their devotions—a nearness and intimacy of communion with God—which has been rarely attained to in this world of sin.

These men believed, not only in the duty, but in the *efficacy* of prayer. They expected *answers* to their prayers. Not unfrequently, they seem to have had strong persuasions, amounting almost to an assurance, that their supplications for particular favors would be answered. In a few cases, they received *impressions* in prayer, which they regarded as in some sense supernatural, that certain events in providence were about to take place. And in several cases, certainly, these events did take place. Men may account for such dispensations as they will; of the fact of their occurrence there can be no reasonable doubt.* Still, Dr. Mather was liable to be deceived by his impressions; and in regard to his anticipated return to England, it seems that he was deceived. Yet I see nothing in this, which should justly expose him to ridicule or reproach. This particular impression seems to have exerted little or no influence, certainly no *bad* influence, on his conduct. He might have returned to England, in several instances, if he had been so disposed. The corporation repeatedly desired him to go to England, on an agency for the college; and in one instance, (as he states in his diary,) “the representatives and the governor voted a concurrence.” Vol. I. p. 477. At a later period, “the ministers of the province, by their delegates assembled at Boston, unanimously desired him to take a voyage to England, with an address from them,” on the accession of George I., and “made provision for the expenses of the voyage.”† But in neither of these cases did the way in providence seem to him to be open. His duty was not plain. And until it was plain, his impression could have no influence to induce him to go. His feeling and language in reference to the whole matter was: “Lord, if it will be more to *thy glory* that

* In Nov., 1676, Mr. Mather “had a strange impression on his mind” that Boston was about to be visited with a destructive fire. He preached on the subject, and warned the people of it, two Sabbaths in succession. On the night following the second Sabbath, the fire broke out; his meeting-house was laid in ashes; and “whole streets were consumed in the devouring flames.” Other events of a like nature, which will readily occur to the mind of the reader, took place during the first century after the settlement of New England.

† Remarkables, etc., p. 194.

I should go to England, than for me to continue here in this land, then let me go ; otherwise not." "The Lord overrule this affair to his own glory, and so as that I may see his holy hand pointing me what I should do." Here, surely, is an unfeigned and entire submission to the will of God,—a feeling as unlike as possible to the restless longings of a selfish mind, the "natural cravings of an ambitious spirit."

I cannot conclude the discussion of this topic, in words more appropriate than those of Cotton Mather himself. "Christians, reproach not a *particular faith*, as if there never were a gracious work of heaven in it. But yet be cautioned against laying too much stress upon it, lest ye find yourselves incautiously plunged into a hope that will make ashamed. A particular faith *may be* a work of God ; but the counterfeits of this jewel are so very fine, that it will require a judgment almost more than human to discern them. It is best that you should be content with the ordinary satisfaction of praying and waiting for the blessings of God, in such pious resignations to *his* will, and annihilations of your own, as an uncertainty about issues would most properly lead you to."*

In remarking further on President Quincy's treatment of Increase Mather, it must be observed, that he charges him, almost uniformly, with being influenced by *worldly, selfish, ambitious motives*. And he thinks himself fully entitled to do this, because, in consequence of having access to his diary, he *knows* the motives by which he was influenced. "Of the *motives* and *master-passions* of his eventful presidency, we are enabled to speak with *great certainty*." "President Mather and his son both kept *diaries*, in which they have themselves recorded their motives and purposes ; so that, in relation to either, there can hardly be any mistake." Vol. I. p. 56.

In reference to this sort of *diary* evidence, of which President Quincy has made so much use, I feel bound, in passing, to offer a few remarks. And, first: Is it quite fair and honorable to bring out, in this way, the diaries of distinguished men? These diaries were written, not for the public eye, but for their own private inspection;—to assist their memories, and aid their devotions ; or at most for the inspection of some few personal, family friends. Is it right, then, to lay hold upon them, and drag them out before the public, and turn them to a use for

* Remarkables, etc., p. 195.

which they never were designed? Most men say things at their own firesides, and in presence of their families, which they would not wish to have published to the world. And if some impertinent listener were to treasure them up, and make them public, there are few persons who would not think themselves injured. We know not that President Quincy keeps a diary; but doubtless he is in the habit of writing letters, and maintaining, in this way, a social, confidential correspondence with his friends. And in the course of this correspondence, he may have written as few things unsuitable for the public eye, as any other individual. But would he be willing that, some hundred and fifty years hence, all his private letters should be collected, and that the whole of them, or the more objectionable parts, should be spread out before the public view? Would he be willing that his successors in office should treat *him* after this manner, willing to rest his permanent reputation on the result of such disclosures?

Almost all ministers (and many others) in the days of the Mathers were in the habit of keeping diaries; in which they recorded their private thoughts, their religious impressions, and the more important transactions of their lives. But would it be right for their successors, their descendants, their family friends, into whose hands these private papers may have fallen, to make a public exhibition of them before the world? As well might they strip their venerable ancestors of their wigs and bands, and send them into the pulpit in their shirts and night-gowns.

Besides; the real import of the diaries of evangelical Christians is not unfrequently misunderstood, especially by those who do not sympathize with them in their religious feelings and views. Pious men, in their closets, record the sense they feel of their many imperfections, their great sinfulness in the sight of God; and persons, who have less conscience of sin than they, and less sorrow for it, infer from the record, either that they were gross hypocrites, or that they had been secretly guilty of abominable crimes. Thus Boswell, finding such intimations in Johnson's diary, supposed, on account of the depth of his self-abasement, that he must have been secretly a very wicked man. And Mr. Bancroft infers, from Cotton Mather's account of his temptations and repentings, that his conscience troubled him for the part he had taken against the witches.* We once

* Hist. of U. States, Vol. III. p. 98.

knew a man who bitterly hated what he termed "the Evangelicals," and because he had little else to allege against them, he used to appeal, for evidence, to their prayers. "Go and hear the wretches pray. We need no further evidence of guilt. They confess themselves to have committed the most abominable crimes." There was about as much justice and sense in this kind of reasoning, as in the conclusions which are sometimes drawn, either ignorantly, or maliciously, from the humble confessions of devout Christians, in their diaries. Because Job "abhorred himself and repented in dust and ashes," and Isaiah confessed himself to be "a man of unclean lips," and Paul groaned habitually under a burthen of sin; is it to be inferred, that these men were hypocrites, or that they lived in the indulgence of palpable vice?

But we have not yet done with this species of diary evidence. When the diary does not treat of religious experience, but records the impressions of the writer as to the common occurrences of life, there is reason to receive the testimony with much caution and allowance. For what is this testimony? It is not that of an individual under oath. Neither is it the word of one who is writing a history—writing for posterity—stating what he has thoroughly inquired into, and knows to be fact. In the language of a reviewer in the North American: "The writer of a diary puts down his *present impressions*, which may be materially erroneous, for want of the explanations which a little more time may bring. Where friendships or dislikes are concerned, or questions of conduct are at issue, he makes his record under the influence of feelings which may bias him from the juster conclusions of a cooler hour. At all events, if his testimony remains to be produced, when he and they whom it may harm are no more, it is simply the testimony of a witness who cannot be cross-examined, against one accused who cannot speak for himself;—a *kind* of evidence which *no acknowledged principle or process of justice approves.*"* In proof of the justness of these remarks, in their application to the work before us, it may be observed, that the diaries here quoted not unfrequently contradict one another. Mather contradicts Sewall, and Sewall Leverett, and Leverett (it may be) both the others. All are honest, and give their honest impressions at the time; but these impressions do not agree. All, therefore, cannot be correct.

* No. III. p. 358.

Perhaps none of them are. Such statements are to be received, as I said, with much caution and allowance.

I have made these remarks, because, as it seemed to me, they were demanded by the general subject, and not because they were thought to be specially needful, in reference to the point in hand. President Quincy "is enabled to speak with *great certainty* of the *motives* and *master-passions* of Mather's eventful presidency," because he has got possession of his *diary*, or of certain parts of it. And under the shelter of such a caption, he proceeds to accuse his venerable predecessor of acting from *selfish, base, ambitious* motives, in many of the more important transactions of his life. But does the diary bear him out, in these accusations? Does Dr. Mather record in his diary, that he really was influenced by such motives as are imputed to him? We shall see.

President Quincy thinks that Mr. Mather, in early life, recanted his first thoughts respecting the half-way covenant, because "the side he had embraced proved to be neither *popular* nor *prevailing*." Also that he changed his mind on the subject of toleration, for the same reason. Also, that it was "love of *distinction*," in part, which led him to oppose the usurpations of Andros. Vol. I. pp. 119—121. Again, when the new charter of government had gone into operation, and "the Calvinistic leaders of the province"—which "Increase Mather and Cotton Mather, his son, *aspired* to become"—began to realize that "the sceptre they had so long possessed had passed from their hands," they "sought to possess themselves of *such instruments of power as were yet within their grasp*;" and this was the secret of their strong attachment to the college. pp. 65, 66. It was this motive which influenced President Mather, in his early endeavors to secure a charter for the college. "He had sufficient knowledge of human nature to apprehend, that the continuance of his *own influence* was, at least, precarious." p. 72. And when this charter, which he had exerted himself to push through the provincial legislature, and under which the corporation had acted long enough "to *gratify* him with a doctorate," was negatived by the king, President Quincy thinks it likely that Mather was *glad of it*; "as the affairs of the college were thrown into a state of inexplicable embarrassment," and "the sense of the *importance of his experience and services* was *greatly augmented*." p. 71. In all these important transactions, it will be seen, that the *basest motives* are fearlessly im-

puted to Dr. Mather. He cares nothing for the college, and nothing for his country. His only concern is, so to conduct affairs, and so to act, that his own private ends may be answered, and the sense of his personal importance may be augmented.

But farther; in nominating individuals to compose the first council under the provincial charter, Mr. Mather is said to have been guided, in part at least, "by *personal* motives." p. 80. His opposition to the founders of the Brattle-street church was the result of an "excited *temper*," and "wounded *pride*," and a desire to retain "his *popularity* with the prevailing sect." p. 133. He was compelled, however, from prudential reasons, so far "to *smother* his resentments, as to take part in the religious services at the dedication of the church." p. 135. It was "*the indignation* of the Mathers against Dudley," because one or the other of them was not elected president of Harvard College, in place of Leverett, that induced them to write to the governor the letters, to which I have referred above. p. 201.

Such is a specimen of the manner in which President Quincy goes on, through more than a hundred pages, in imputing the basest, the most unworthy motives, to Dr. Mather. And he feels authorized to do this, because he has had sight of Mather's diary, and is "able to speak with *great certainty* as to the *motives* and *master-passions* of his eventful presidency." But where, I ask, is the evidence from the diary, that such *were* "the master-passions" by which he was moved? Does Mather confess as much as this? Does he record it in his diary? As our author has been pleased to appeal to the diary, as a means of deciding upon the motives of the writer of it, we may insist, I think, that he should abide by the diary. He should, at least, so far abide by it, as in no instance directly to *contradict* it. And yet this he has very frequently done. In many instances he imputes motives to President Mather, the very opposite of those which the diary affirms. For example, President Mather, in his diary, continually assigns it as his motive, and his only motive, for desiring to return to England, that he might there have an opportunity to glorify God, and serve the cause and kingdom of Christ. But President Quincy can see nothing here, but "the natural cravings of an *ambitious spirit*." Again: President Mather, in his diary, repeatedly, and with the utmost apparent sincerity, expresses his determination to resign his office, in connection with the college. He did this in 1695, and was prevented from carrying his determination into effect, only by the

earnest remonstrances of the corporation against it. He did the same, in two several instances, in 1697. Under date of August 7th, he says: "I am determined to resign my relation to the college the next week, having desired a corporation meeting for that end." "September 3d. My discouragements are such, that I am fully purposed to resign the presidentship." "September 15th. At college to attend a corporation meeting, when I intended to resign the presidentship; but, it being a stormy day, there wanted one to make a sufficient number for a meeting." Yet President Quincy persists in insinuating, if not asserting, that "these threats of resigning were *intended* only for effect, and that there was no sincerity in them." p. 96. What we complain of here is, that having appealed to the diary as the grand source of evidence, by which to decide upon the motives of his predecessor, President Quincy thus confidently imputes to him unworthy motives, not only without the evidence of the diary, but directly in face of it. He will appeal to the diary, so far as he can find any thing there *disreputable* to its author,—any thing which, judged of by our modern standards, can be turned into ridicule or reproach; but when the diary assumes another character, he can easily dispense with it, or directly contradict it.

I only remark further, in reference to President Quincy's treatment of Increase Mather, that he represents him often, I had almost said *generally*, as manifesting an unhappy spirit and temper, as a *disturber* more than a father of the churches, as being rather a *bad*, than a good man. Both to him and his son, "controversy was not so much an incident, as an *element* of their natures." Their "theological zeal was always at the *boiling point*." Their controversy with the innovators of the times was conducted "neither with temper, nor policy." pp. 132, 137. In the progress of it, they became "excited to such a height of indignation, that they seem to have lost all sense of *prudence* and *character*." p. 141. "Violent doctrinal dissensions were by them excited, and perpetuated" in the churches, through a long course of years. p. 349. Of Increase Mather himself it is said, that in his controversy respecting church order, "he lost *all patience* and *self-possession*," and "was led to the exhibition of *great violence* and *personality*." pp. 133, 139. In a word, the character of President Mather is summed up by our historian, in the following terms: he was "*restless, obtrusive, excitable, boastful* of his public services, and *complaining* of

neglect and ingratitude." His whole life "had been one *series of theological and political controversy*."* He was a partisan by profession; always harnessed, and ready, and restless for the onset; now courting the statesman; now mingling with the multitude; exciting the clergy in the synod, and the congregation in the pulpit, and the people in the halls of the popular assembly." p. 147. Yet this is the man, whom Dr. Elliot describes as "the *father* of the New England clergy, whose name and character were held in veneration, not only by those who knew him, but by succeeding generations."

This is the man who (to use the language of the General Court), by "unwearied, indefatigable labor and service, voluntarily undertaken for the good of his country, attended with much difficulty and hazard to his person," and followed by much obloquy from fiery demagogues, saved Massachusetts from revolution and bloodshed, and gave to her a charter of government, under which she prospered for almost a century. This is the man who, by his resistance to unscriptural and alarming innovations, kept back the tide of spiritual desolation from rolling over the churches of the Pilgrims for a series of years, and greatly restricted its ravages, when at length it came;—the man to whom, I think, New England is more indebted, ecclesiastically and civilly, than to any other individual who ever lived in it; who, when he died, was "honored with a greater funeral than had ever been seen in these parts of the world," and in consequence of whose death, "the pulpits, throughout the country," rang with mingled eulogies and funeral lamentations.† But we must leave this venerable man to his rest. It will not be disturbed, nor will his reputation permanently suffer, by any attempts at this late day, to tarnish or reproach it. The shafts of his revilers will be more likely to recoil and fasten on themselves, than to fall injuriously on him.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF REV. COTTON MATHER.

As Increase Mather was one of the presidents of Harvard College, it was natural that the historian of the college should dwell

* Yet of his ninety-three or four publications, at least *eighty* were decidedly of a practical character. See titles of most of them at the end of Remarkables, etc., pp. 234—239.

† Remarkables, etc., p. 211.

somewhat particularly upon his life and character. But the same reason does not exist, why Cotton Mather should be made the subject of extended remark. He, to be sure, was a graduate of the college; was for some time a member of the corporation; and, during the greater part of his life, was entitled to a seat among the overseers; but beyond this, he had little direct concern with the college, and there seems no good reason why he should hold a conspicuous place in its history. Since, however, President Quincy has thought differently, it will be necessary to follow him, and to inquire into the correctness and justness of his representations. But in order that the subject may be better understood, I shall preface these inquiries with a brief sketch of the life of Cotton Mather.

He was the eldest son of Dr. Increase Mather, and grandson of the celebrated John Cotton; in consequence of which he was named Cotton Mather. He was born in Boston, Feb. 12, 1662. When a boy at school, he endeavored to persuade his youthful companions to become persons of prayer, and even wrote for them some forms of devotion. He had also the courage to "reprove his playmates for their wicked words and practices." At the age of fourteen, he began to observe days of secret fasting and prayer; at which times, he was accustomed to read as many as fifteen chapters in the Bible daily.

He entered college, when but twelve years old, and graduated, with distinguished applause, at the age of sixteen.* At this

* It has been thought by some, that Cotton Mather possessed an undue measure of vanity. If this were so, it is scarcely to be wondered at, considering the applause which was lavished on him, and the raised expectations which he knew were entertained respecting him, in his earliest years. Take the following as a specimen, which was pronounced by President Oakes on the day when he graduated. "Another is named Cotton Mather. What a name! But, my hearers, I confess that I am wrong. I should have said, *what names!* I shall say nothing of his reverend father, since I dare not praise him to his face; but should he resemble and represent his venerable grandfathers, John Cotton and Richard Mather, in piety, learning, elegance of mind, solid judgment, prudence and wisdom, *he will bear away the palm. And I trust that, in this youth, Cotton and Mather will be united and flourish again.*" The wonder is not, that a mere youth should be injured by such fulsome adulation, but rather that he was not utterly spoiled.

early period, he matured and disciplined his understanding, by drawing up systems of the sciences, and writing remarks upon the books which he had read. At the age of seventeen, he entered into covenant with the church, after a most careful and methodical examination of himself, and with the fullest consecration of his entire being to the Saviour. Having been engaged for some time, in the study of theology, he was ordained minister of the North Church in Boston, as colleague with his father, in 1684. In this situation he passed the remainder of his days, unwearied in his exertions to promote the glory of God, and the highest welfare of his fellow men. He was three times married, and had fifteen children, only two of whom survived him.

One of the earliest manifestations of the Christian life, in the case of Cotton Mather, was his *desire to be useful*. He commenced by instructing his brothers and sisters, exhorting the domestics, and doing them every service in his power. He imposed it on himself as a rule, never to go into company, where it might be proper for him to speak, without endeavoring to make himself *useful*. When very young, he commenced devoting a tenth of all his substance to charitable purposes;—a practice which he continued—though the proportion of a tithe was often exceeded—to the end of life.

Mr. Mather seems to have anticipated, when young, that fields of usefulness, then unimagined, would ere long be opened. "A vast variety of new ways to do good will be lit upon; paths, which no fowl of the best flight at noble designs has yet known, and which the vulture's most piercing eye hath not seen, and where loins of the strongest resolution have never passed." It was under the influence of impressions such as these, that he engaged in the composition of his well known work, entitled "*Essays to do Good*;"—a work which Dr. Franklin read in his youth, and to which he ascribes "all the good that he ever did to his country or to mankind."*

* In a letter to Dr. Samuel Mather, son of Cotton Mather, dated "Passy (in France), Nov. 10, 1779," Dr. Franklin says: "Permit me to mention one little instance which, though it relates to myself, will not be quite uninteresting to you. When I was a boy, I met with a book, entitled *Essays to do Good*, which I think was written by your father. It had been so little regarded by its former possessor, that several leaves of it were torn out; but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking,

To increase the power of doing good, Mr. Mather devised a plan of *voluntary association*, very similar to that which is now in such active operation throughout the world. His method was, to have associations formed in every neighborhood, which should keep an eye upon all growing evils, and use the most effectual means to suppress them. He would have these associations engage in sending the Bible and the gospel to other nations, and in labors for the benefit of tradesmen, soldiers and seamen.

In labors for the good of the people of his charge, he was unwearied and abundant. He kept a list of all the members of his church, "and in his secret prayers, resolved that he would go over the catalogue, by parcels, upon his knees, and pray for the most suitable blessings he could think of to be bestowed upon each person, by name distinctly mentioned." He devoted one or two afternoons in a week to visiting the families of his people (a practice less common in that age than it is now), in which visits he inquired particularly into the religious feelings of each member of a family, imparting such counsel and warning as individual cases seemed to require. He constantly employed himself in distributing religious books among his people. We are assured on good authority, that he sometimes gave away more than a thousand a year; and this at a period when such works were more ponderous than they are now, and when the cheap inventions of modern times were entirely unknown.

Though less engaged in public business than his father, yet he was not entirely unoccupied in this way. At the time of the Revolution, when Andros and his subalterns were stripped of their much abused power, he addressed a meeting of the inhabitants of Boston, dissuading them from acts of violence, and from all such excesses as would be injurious to their cause. He also prepared, at the request of some of the principal citizens, a long written declaration, having the same object in view, which was read from the gallery of the town-house.

It was this interposition of Mather, as his son informs us,

as to have an influence on my conduct through life; for I have always set a greater value on the character of a *doer of good*, than any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book." *Works*, Vol. III. p. 478.

which "saved the fallen oppressors from a tragical fate; for had a single syllable been said, by any man of influence, in favor of avenging the public wrongs on those who had inflicted them, they would have been put to death without mercy or delay."

There is scarcely a department of Christian philanthropy which has been thought of in modern times, in which Mr. Mather, single-handed and alone, did not attempt to do something. He wrote and published much—and widely circulated some of his publications—on the subject of intemperance.

Perceiving that the negroes, of which there were many at that time in Boston, had not those advantages of instruction which were necessary, in order to their becoming interested in religion, he established a school, in which they were taught to read. "And he himself bore the whole expense of it, paying the instructress for her services at the close of every week." He also published an essay on the importance of Christianizing the negroes, designing "to lodge a copy in every family in New England that has a negro in it, and also to send numbers of them to the West Indies." He moreover exerted himself for the special benefit of seamen, though it may be feared without much success.

Mr. Mather was of inestimable benefit to the inhabitants of Boston, and indeed of the whole country, by his efforts to introduce among them the practice of inoculation for the small pox. In this he was opposed, chiefly on *ethical* or *theological* grounds, by many of the clergy, and by all the physicians except one; but he persevered, until the practice was introduced, and the advantages of it were generally acknowledged.

I close what I have to say as to the *usefulness* of Mr. Mather, and the pleasure he felt in doing good, with an extract from his own private writings. "I am able," says he, "with little study, to write in seven languages. I feast myself with the sweets of all the sciences, which the more polite part of mankind ordinarily pretend to. I am entertained with all kinds of histories, ancient and modern. I am no stranger to the curiosities which, by all sorts of learning, are brought to the curious. These *intellectual* pleasures are far beyond any sensual ones. Nevertheless, *all this affords me not so much delight, as it does to relieve the distresses of any one poor, mean, miserable neighbor; and much more, to do any thing to advance the king-*

dom of God in the world." His conduct, adds his biographer, was altogether consonant to these sentiments.*

"In regard of literature, or an acquaintance with books of all kinds," says Dr. Chauncy, "I give the palm to Cotton Mather. No native of this country had read so much, or retained more of what he read. He was the greatest redeemer of time I ever knew, and lost as little of it, as any one could do in his situation. There were scarcely any books written, but he had, somehow or other, got the sight of them. His own library was the largest, by far, of any private one on the continent. He was always reading and writing, and had the happiest talent of going rapidly through a book. He knew more of the history of this country than any man in it; and could he have conveyed his knowledge with proportionable judgment, he would have given the best history of it."† What Dr. Chauncy said of Cotton Mather in his day, I have no doubt may be said with equal truth now. In point of *learning*, in the stricter application of the term, as denoting a general acquaintance with books, he was the *most* learned man that New England ever bred. "No native of this country ever read so much, or retained so much of what he read."

As might be expected from the above account of the learning of Cotton Mather, he was most diligent and systematic in the improvement of time. He had written, in large letters, over his study door, to be seen and read by every visitant, BE SHORT. In the morning, he arranged the business of the day; and to each day of the week, he allotted some particular department of duty. He maintained an extensive correspondence with philosophers and literary characters, in different languages, and in various parts of the world. In 1710, the university of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and three years after, he was elected a member of the Royal Society, London. His publications, in all, amounted to three hundred and eighty-three.

I have said already, that Cotton Mather was pre-eminently a man of prayer. Besides his daily secret devotions, it appears from his diary that he kept, in one year, no less than sixty private fasts, and twenty vigils. His son thinks that, on a mode-

* Life by his Son, p. 21.

† Mass. Hist. Col., 1st series, Vol. X. p. 156.

rate computation, he kept between four and five hundred fasts, in the course of his public life. Indeed, he seems to have studied and acquired the habit of turning almost every thing into prayer. The most common occurrences of life were made the occasion of lifting up his soul to God, in pious, appropriate ejaculations.

But with all this greatness and excellence of character, Cotton Mather inherited some weaknesses. He had more genius than judgment; more learning than taste; a greater facility for acquiring knowledge, than skill in arranging and employing it. He seems also to have been credulous, and inclined to the marvellous, to a degree which exposed him to frequent impositions. His knowledge of human nature, having been acquired rather from books than from the living world, was necessarily defective; on which account his intercourse with the world was less useful, and at times less agreeable, than might otherwise have been expected.

In the winter of 1728, he was seized with the disorder which terminated his life. In the note calling his physician, he made use of these words: "My last enemy is come; or I would rather say, my best friend." When asked by one of his church, if he was desirous to be gone, he replied: "I dare not say that I am, nor yet that I am not; I would be entirely resigned unto God." When his physician expressed to him the opinion that he could not recover, he lifted up his hands, and said: "Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven." Taking the hand of his nephew, who stood near him, he said: "My dear son, I do, with all possible affection, recommend you to the blessing of the Lord Jesus Christ. Take my hands and my heart full of blessings." A few hours before his death, he remarked: "Now I have nothing more to do here. My will is entirely swallowed up in the will of God." When it came to the last, he said: "Is this dying? Is this all? Is this all that I feared, when I prayed against a hard death? O I can bear this! I can bear it! I can bear it!" When his wife wiped his disordered eye, he said: "I shall in a few moments be where all tears shall be wiped away."

Indeed, the entire closing scene of this great and good man was peaceful and happy. He died, February 13th, 1728, when he had just completed his sixty-fifth year. He was followed to the grave by an immense concourse of people, among whom

were all the high officers of government. "It was the general sentiment," says one of his biographers, "that a great and good man had fallen."

CONNECTION OF COTTON MATHER WITH THE EXCITEMENT RESPECTING WITCHCRAFT.

In examining the objections urged by President Quincy and others, against the character of Cotton Mather, the first which presents itself is that growing out of his connection with the subject of witchcraft. This, it will be necessary to consider at some length, and with special care.

In the first place, I remark, that Cotton Mather was a sincere and earnest believer in the reality, and not unfrequent occurrence of what, in his day, was denominated witchcraft. He also believed that the crime of witchcraft, when fully proved, was justly punishable with death. Nor was his faith, in regard to these points, at all singular. It was *the common faith of Christendom*, and had been so for several hundred years.

Persons who have not attended particularly to the subject can have no idea of the extent to which the supposed crime of witchcraft has prevailed in different countries, and the multitude of deaths which it has occasioned. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, not only hundreds, but thousands, were put to death—many of them by the extremest tortures—in Germany, France and Spain, under the imputation of witchcraft. In 1612, fifteen persons were indicted, and twelve executed, in Lancashire, England; and in 1634, seventeen more were put to death in the same county. The Rev. Thomas Cooper, one of the ministers of this county, in his "Mystery of Witchcraft," published in 1617, says: "Doth not every assize almost, throughout the land, resound of the arraignment and conviction of notorious witches?" p. 15.

Between the years 1644 and 1646, the celebrated witch-hunter, Matthew Hopkins, was encouraged and employed, to visit different parts of England, ferret out those who dealt with familiar spirits, and aid in bringing them to justice. Through his instrumentality, sixteen were executed at Yarmouth, fifteen at Chelmsford, one at Cambridge, several in Huntingdon, and not less than sixty in the single county of Suffolk. Among those who encouraged this infamous man, were persons of no

less celebrity and excellence, than Richard Baxter and the elder Calamy.*

In the year 1664, Sir Matthew Hale presided at the trial of two females in Suffolk, supposed to be witches, both of whom were condemned and executed. At these trials, Sir Thomas Browne attended as a witness, who "declared his opinion in favor of the reality of witchcraft, and entered into a particular discussion of the subject before the jury." Near the close of the seventeenth century, many were tried and condemned in England, under the administration of Chief Justice Holt.† It is stated by Mr. Upham, that in this century alone, "more than two hundred were hanged in England, thousands were burned in Scotland, and larger numbers perished in various parts of Europe," for the supposed crime of witchcraft.‡

About the middle of the seventeenth century, a narrative of an alleged case of witchcraft was published in France, under the title of "The Devil of Mascon." The celebrated Robert Boyle "gave his sanction to the work, promoted the translation of it into English, and publicly declared his belief of the supernatural transaction it related."§

Sir William Blackstone, the great oracle of British law, who died no longer ago than 1780, declared his belief in witchcraft, in the following terms: "To deny the possibility, nay, the actual existence of witchcraft and sorcery, is at once flatly to contradict the revealed word of God, in various passages, both of the Old and New Testament; and the thing itself is a truth to which every nation in the world hath, in its turn, borne testimony, either by examples seemingly well attested, or by prohibitory laws, which at least suppose the possibility of commerce with evil spirits."||

* Of one of Cotton Mather's publications on Witchcraft, Mr. Baxter said in his old age: "It comes with such convincing evidence, that he must be a very obdurate Sadducee who will not believe it."

† See Hutchinson on Witchcraft, pp. 41-63.

‡ Upham on Witchcraft, pp. 164, 219. In the year 1670, eighty-five witches were condemned in Sweden, the most of whom, if not all, were burned and executed. There were also thirty-six children that ran the gauntlet, and twenty were whipped every Sunday, at the church door, for three weeks together, for the same crime.

§ See Hutchinson *ut supra*, p. 123.

|| See Upham on Witchcraft, p. 219.

In our own country, at the time of Cotton Mather, the belief in witchcraft may be said to have been *universal*. The most experienced physicians, who were called to prescribe for the afflicted persons, and the most eminent ministers who were invited to pray with them, did not hesitate to pronounce them bewitched. Even those persons who had the least sympathy with the Mathers on some subjects, such as Thomas and William Brattle, John Leverett, and even Robert Calef, all agreed with them as to the reality of witchcraft. In the year 1694, two years subsequent to the executions at Salem, a paper was issued by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and signed, among others, by Samuel Willard, John Leverett and William Brattle, inviting observation and information concerning "*apparitions, possessions, enchantments, and all extraordinary things*, wherein the existence and agency of the invisible world is more sensibly demonstrated."*

Nor was the belief in witchcraft, in this country, confined to New England. In the early settlement of Pennsylvania, William Penn presided on the bench at the trial of two Swedish women for witchcraft, both of whom would have been condemned and executed, but for some technical error in the indictment.† The French and Dutch ministers of New-York, when their opinion was asked by the chief justice of that province, replied in writing: "If we believe in no verrifick witchcraft, we must renounce the Scripture of God, and the consent of almost all the world."‡ To all this I will add, that Rev. Dr. Watts, writing to Cotton Mather, so late as the year 1720, respecting the Salem witchcraft, says: "I am persuaded that there was much

* See Mather's *Magnalia*, Vol. II., p. 294. I have previously shown that Thomas Brattle was a believer in witchcraft. It is evident from the paper above quoted, that the same was true of Samuel Willard, John Leverett and William Brattle. We have additional evidence of this in the case of Willard, (notwithstanding what some have said to the contrary,) in the fact that Calef wrote him a solemn letter of *reproof* on the subject. He addressed a similar letter, also, to Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth. See Calef's "*More Wonders*," etc., pp. 89, 115. Calef not only affirms his own belief in witchcraft, though he disagreed with the ministers as to the proper definition of the term. See "*More Wonders*," etc., pp. 50, 111, 162.

† See *Pham on Witchcraft*, p. 182.

‡ *Magnalia*, Vol. I. p. 191.

immediate agency of the devil in those affairs; and perhaps there were some real witches.”*

I have cited these testimonies, for the purpose of showing, at one view, how general, and I might almost say universal, was the belief in witchcraft, one hundred and fifty years ago. Cotton Mather was not singular, in his opinions on this subject. He would have been singular, had he indulged other opinions. He spoke the truth, when he said, in his reply to Calef: “I know not that I have ever advanced any opinion, in the matter of witchcraft, but what all the ministers of the Lord that I know of in the world, whether English, or Scotch, or French, or Dutch (and I know many) are of the same opinion with me.” p. 42. If there was any difference between Mr. Mather and his cotemporaries, it was perhaps this, that owing to his natural credulity, and love of the marvellous, he was more *sincere* and *earnest* in his belief, than some of them;—a fact of considerable importance in this inquiry, and which, if duly considered, will go, not to inculcate, but rather to excuse him.

President Quincy charges upon Cotton Mather, as he had done upon his father, “the responsibility of being the *chief cause* and *promoter*” of the alleged witchcrafts in New England. He had an “efficient agency in *producing* and *prolonging* the excitement” on that subject. He “connected his name and fame inseparably with that excitement, as its *chief cause*, *agent*, *believer* and *justifier*.” pp. 63, 65. The excitement here referred to is, without doubt, that commonly spoken of as “the Salem witchcraft,” which occurred in 1692. Of this Cotton Mather is alleged to have been “the *chief cause*, *promoter*, *agent*, and *justifier*.” He exerted “an efficient agency in *producing* and *prolonging* it.” This certainly is a heavy charge to be brought against a learned and reputable minister of the gospel, who has been long dead. Let us spend a few moments in inquiring as to its justness and truth.

We have seen that, in the days of Cotton Mather, the belief in witchcraft was *universal* in New England, as indeed it seems to have been all over the world. He did not originate this belief. He merely fell in with the general current of thought and feeling, which had prevailed here from the first settlement of the country.

It must be remembered, too, that the cases of witchcraft at Sa-

* See Upham on Witchcraft, p. 218.

lem were not regarded, at the time of their occurrence, as *a new or unheard-of thing*. Accounts of witches in England, and in other parts of Europe, had been often published, and the stories and books were widely circulated. Then there had been cases of supposed witchcraft in New England, for almost half a century before the disturbances at Salem. There was a case at Springfield, as early as 1645; and another at Charlestown immediately after, which resulted in the execution of the supposed witch. The next that suffered were a woman in Dorchester, and another in Cambridge, both of whom died protesting their innocence. In 1655, a Mrs. Hibbins, the widow of one who had been an assistant or counsellor, was executed at Boston. There were three executed at Springfield nearly at the same time, one of whom confessed herself guilty of the crime alleged. In 1662, there were three executed at Hartford; one of them on her own confession. There was a case at Salisbury, in 1669; another at Groton, in 1671; a third at Hampton, in 1673; and a fourth at Newbury, in 1679. In 1682, there were two cases in New Hampshire; and in the next two years, there were two more cases on Connecticut river. These latter cases varied much in their circumstances, and in none of them were the supposed offenders executed.*

There was a notable case of supposed witchcraft in the family of a Mr. Goodwin in Boston, in the year 1688. The alleged offender was an old Irish woman, by the name of Glover. She was tried before Chief Justice Dudley (afterwards Gov. Dudley), and was condemned and executed. This case is affirmed by Rev. Mr. Upham, of Salem, to have been "*brought about by the management*" of Cotton Mather;† but a more unfounded accusation, perhaps, never was uttered. It is expressly contradicted by the testimony of Mr. Goodwin, the father of the afflicted children. "Let the world be informed," says he, "that when one of my children had been laboring under sad circumstances from the invisible world, for about a quarter of a year, I desired the ministers of Boston and Charlestown to keep a day of prayer at my house, if so be deliverance might be obtained. Mr. Cotton Mather was the *last* of the ministers that I spoke to on that occasion; and though, by

* See Hale's "Modest Inquiry," etc. p. 17; and Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass., Vol. II. p. 22.

† Lectures on Witchcraft, p. 107.

reason of some necessary business, he could not attend, yet he came to my house in the morning of that day, and tarried about half an hour, and went to prayer with us before any other minister came. *Never, before now, had I the least acquaintance with him.*" How, then, could this case have been "*brought about by the management*" of Cotton Mather? The child had now been afflicted full three months, during which time Mr. Mather had not once visited the house, or had *the slightest acquaintance with the family*. Mr. Goodwin goes on to say, that after several months more, another fast was kept at his house; but denies that the ministers ever gave him "the least advice, directly or indirectly" as to the prosecution of the Irish woman, who was supposed to be the tormentor of his children.*

The idea that this case of witchcraft was "*brought about by the management*" of Cotton Mather, is further contradicted by the supposition of Mr. Peabody, that the troubles in Mr. Goodwin's family *grew out of* a quarrel between his eldest daughter, and the poor old Irish woman, who was afterwards accused and executed as a witch.† If such was *the origin* of the troubles in question, Mr. Mather, surely, could have had no hand in them. He did not excite the quarrel between the daughter and the Irish woman, or persuade the former to be revenged on the latter, by bringing her into danger as a witch.

As before remarked, it was in February, 1692, that the strange appearances commenced in what was then called Salem Village (now Danvers), in the family of Rev. Mr. Parris. But that Cotton Mather was "*the chief cause*" of these appearances, or exerted the slightest *agency* or *instrumentality* in producing them, I am sure President Quincy will find it difficult to prove. Mr. Mather had published his "*Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft,*" three years before; but that the book had ever been read in the family of Mr. Parris, or if read, that it had produced the strange appearances and sufferings of his children, there is not the slightest evidence. How should it produce them? Instead of leading these children to mimic the actions and miseries of other bewitched persons, one would think it must rather deter them from all such practices. I can find no evidence that Mr. Mather had any visible concern, or in

* See the Reply to Calef, p. 62.

† Am. Biography, Vol. VI. p. 216.

fact *any* concern, with the cases of alleged witchcraft in Salem, until several months after the excitement commenced.

Mr. Upham supposes that there was a connection between the origin of this excitement and the *parochial* troubles of Mr. Parris; and that the children of Parris "were *acting a part*." "I am constrained," he says, "to declare my belief, that this dreadful transaction was *introduced* and *driven on*, by wicked perjury, and wilful malice."* If this account of its origin is true, certainly Cotton Mather can no longer be regarded as its "*chief cause, promoter and agent*."

But Mr. Mather is represented, not only as the *cause* of the excitement respecting witchcraft, but as greatly *desiring* it, and *rejoicing* in it. "I cannot resist the conviction," says Mr. Upham, "that he looked upon the Salem trials with *secret pleasure*." "He seems to have *longed* for an opportunity to signalize himself in this particular kind of warfare."* His "boundless vanity," says Mr. Bancroft, "*gloried* in the assault of the evil angels upon the country."† Speaking of the troubles before referred to in the family of Goodwin, Mr. Peabody says: "It was not long before he (Cotton Mather) *enjoyed the great felicity* of having a case of witchcraft directly under his eye." Again: "Cotton Mather was now in *his element*. He paid many visits to this poor old lunatic (the Irish woman) after her condemnation, and received *vast entertainment* from her communications. She described her interviews with the prince of darkness, and her attendance upon his meetings, with a clearness that seems to have filled him with perfect delight."‡

Were Cotton Mather now living to speak for himself, or could he address us from the other world, I am persuaded he would repel the foregoing representations, as doing great injustice to his character. How do these gentlemen *know* that Cotton Mather longed for the occurrence of cases of witchcraft; and *rejoiced* in them when they appeared; and regarded their terrible, bloody results with secret pleasure? Believing sincerely in the *reality* of witchcraft, or that certain individuals were in covenant and commerce with evil spirits, when an instance of this kind was supposed to have occurred, he would feel an interest, both as a Christian and as a philosopher, to in-

* Lectures on Witchcraft, pp. 51, 55, 106, 114.

† Hist. of U. States, Vol. III. p. 85.

‡ Am. Biography, Vol. VI. pp. 216, 217.

investigate it with all the scrutiny of which he was capable. But to suppose that he *desired* the occurrence of these terrible visitations, and *rejoiced* in them, and contemplated their results with secret satisfaction, even when they terminated in blood, is to contradict not only his most solemn protestations, but the general current of his actions and life. He uniformly spoke of the spring and summer of 1692 as "a very *doleful* time unto the whole country," and "the descent of the devils upon so many of the good people of the land," as a "*dreadful judgment of heaven.*" His son informs us, that "for a great part of the summer, he did, almost every week, spend a day by himself in the exercises of a secret fast before the Lord," praying, "not only for his own preservation from the malice and the power of the evil angels, but also for a good issue of *the calamities* in which he had permitted the evil angels *to ensnare the miserable country.*"**

And if the general current of one's life is to be regarded as an index of the state of his heart, then Cotton Mather was a benevolent, and not a malevolent, man. He desired the *good* of his fellow men, and not their hurt. He was liable, like other men, to mistake in the application of means, and to be deluded; but he sincerely sought to be *useful* to those around him. But how is this consistent with his *longing* to witness, and *rejoicing* in the occurrence, of what he conceived to be the most dreadful of all calamities, perpetrated by the most horrible of all crimes,—a crime justly deserving of death by the laws both of God and man.

It is further objected to Cotton Mather, that he favored the *prosecutions* for witchcraft, countenanced the executions by his presence, and in various ways urged on the terrible work of blood. "In the progress of the superstitious fear, when it amounted to frenzy, and could only be satisfied with blood, he neither blenched nor halted; but *attended the courts*, watched the progress of invisible agency *in the prisons*, and joined the multitude in witnessing the executions."† When Rev. Mr. Burroughs was executed, he "rode round in the crowd on horseback, haranguing the people, and saying that it was not to be wondered at that Mr. Burroughs appeared so well, for the devil often transformed himself into an angel of light."‡ It is

* Life, p. 45.

† Quincy, Vol. I, p. 64.

‡ Upham's Lectures, p. 103.

said, also, that in "the advices" which the ministers presented to the magistrates in reference to the matter of witchcraft, and which were drawn up by Cotton Mather, the magistrates are urged to "the speedy and vigorous prosecution of those who have rendered themselves obnoxious."

As to Cotton Mather's "attending the courts," when the witches were tried at Salem, himself and President Quincy are directly at issue. The President says he did attend. Mr. Mather affirms that he did not. "I was *not present* at any of them."*

As to his frequenting the prisons where the witches were confined; he may have done this, when any were confined in Boston. To do so, in the case of all prisoners, he believed to be a part of his ministerial duty. There is no evidence that he visited the prisoners in Salem, or that he was often there, during the whole excitement.

As to his "joining the multitude in witnessing the executions," I find no evidence that this was true, except in a single instance. When Mr. Burroughs, with several others, was executed, on the fifth of August, he was there. He was not, as Mr. Upham represents it, "riding round in the crowd on horseback, haranguing the people;" still, he was there, and sitting on a horse. For certain reasons, Mr. Mather seems to have satisfied himself that Burroughs was, in many respects, a bad man;—that he was one who had intercourse with evil spirits, and who, of course, according to his understanding of the matter, deserved to die. And when he saw how worthily the old man appeared at the last, it is very likely he may have said to the bystanders, in the language of Paul: "No marvel; for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light." This would be quite enough for his accusers—such men as Calef and others—to make a story of, and is undoubtedly *the substance* out of which the several versions of the story have since been made.

In order to understand "the advices of the ministers" above referred to, the history of the connected transactions must be kept in mind. As before related, the troubles in the family of Mr. Parris first made their appearance in February, 1692. During the next three months, cases of similar suffering were multiplied, and various persons were accused, as being the cause of them. These accused persons were examined before Justices

* Wonders of the Invisible World, p. 81.

Corwin and Hathorne, and the most of them were committed for trial. In May of the same year, Mr. Increase Mather and Gov. Phipps arrived from England, with the new provincial charter of government. Almost immediately after the new government had been set up, a commission was issued to seven of the principal citizens and jurists of the colony, viz. Lieut. Governor Stoughton, Maj. Saltonstall, Maj. Richards, Maj. Gedney, Mr. Wait Winthrop, Capt. Sewall, and Mr. Sergeant, constituting them a *court*, to try the accused persons at Salem. The judges first assembled on the 2d of June, and tried and condemned one, who was executed on the 10th. The court then adjourned to the 13th of June; in which interval, the governor and council asked the advice of ministers in Boston and the vicinity, as to the course to be pursued. After due deliberation, the ministers expressed their opinions and counsels, under eight particulars.* 1. They express their sympathy with those who are "suffering by molestations from the invisible world," and "think that their condition calls for the utmost help of all persons, in their several capacities." 2. They thankfully acknowledge the success which has followed the efforts of the magistrates "to defeat the witchcrafts," and pray for a full and perfect discovery of all this mysterious wickedness. 3. They recommend "a very critical and exquisite *caution*, lest by too much credulity for things received only upon the devil's authority, there be a door opened for a long train of miserable consequences." 4. The rulers are exhorted not to proceed, in any case, on mere *presumption*, and to show "an *exceeding tenderness* towards those that may be complained of, especially if they have been persons of an unblemished reputation." 5. The next advice is, that the primary examination of suspected persons may be without noise, company or excitement; and that there "may be nothing used as a test, for the trial of the suspected, the lawfulness whereof may be doubted by the people of God." 6. The ministers recommend to the magistrates not to

* A part of these advices Mr. Mather published in the *Magnalia*, Vol. I. p. 190. He has been censured for not publishing the whole; and it has been represented as very unfortunate for his memory, that Hutchinson has given the entire paper. *Hist. of Mass.*, Vol. II. p. 52. But I think it *fortunate* for Mr. Mather, and for all the ministers concerned, that the entire paper has been published. Had we room we would gladly insert the whole of it in these pages.

convict, or so much as commit persons, on what was called "the spectral evidence;" "inasmuch as it is an undoubted thing that a demon may appear, even to ill purposes, in the shape of an innocent and virtuous man." They also pronounce any "alteration made in the sufferers by a look or touch of the accused," to be insufficient evidence of guilt. 7. The ministers further suggest, whether an utter rejection of the testimonies commonly relied on, "whose whole force and strength is from the devils above, may not put a period unto the progress of the dreadful calamity begun upon us, in the accusation of so many persons, whereof some, we hope, are clear of the great transgression laid to their charge." 8. Having given the above suggestions, directions and cautions, the ministers "humbly recommend to the government the speedy and vigorous prosecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious, according to the directions given in the laws of God and the wholesome statutes of the English nation."

By those who seem inclined to traduce the ministers of that day, and especially Cotton Mather, by whom these advices were drawn up, this *last* article is almost the only one quoted or referred to. It is quoted often, as though it stood alone, without any restriction or qualification; as if Mather and his ministerial brethren were only anxious to have the judges make all due despatch, and condemn and hang the suspected witches as fast as possible. But this, it will be seen, is altogether an unjust view of the case. These advices of the ministers are to be taken and judged of, *as a whole*; and as a whole, they were manifestly framed and designed with a view to reprove much of the previous proceedings, particularly those of the Salem justices, and to prevent, so far as possible, the like proceedings in future. They do, indeed, "recommend the speedy and vigorous prosecution of those who have justly rendered themselves obnoxious;" but the recommendation is accompanied with such cautions, restrictions and qualifications, that had they been duly regarded, there probably had not been another individual convicted. If the trials had been conducted with that "exceeding tenderness" towards the accused, which the ministers recommended; if the "spectral evidence," together with all improper tests, had been set aside; if all testimony of every kind, which rested "only on the devil's authority" had been rejected; the judges might have proceeded as vigorously as they pleased—the more vigorously the better;—for by this

means the jails had been the sooner emptied, and the accused persons had been set at liberty.

From persons who believed in the reality of witchcraft, and that the proper witch is justly liable to death (as all these ministers most seriously did), I see not how better advices than those which they proffered to the magistrates on this occasion, could reasonably have been expected. And happy had it been for all concerned, if the magistrates had been content to follow them. But they would not; at least, *some* of them would not.* They seem to have been fully satisfied, at least for a time, as to the validity of the "spectral evidence," and other branches of the devil's testimony, and consequently the work of hanging went on.†

President Quincy asserts that, "after two hundred persons had been accused, one hundred and fifty imprisoned, nineteen hanged, one pressed to death, and twenty-eight condemned, one-third of whom were members of the churches, and more than half of good general conversation, he (Cotton Mather) wrote a formal treatise, entitled, 'Wonders of the Invisible World,' approving the proceedings of the courts, and exciting the multitude to a continuance in the belief, and *the courts to a perseverance in their vindictiveness.*" Vol. I. p. 64. With all due respect for President Quincy, I must consider the charge, conveyed in the latter part of this sentence, as no better than a *libel*;—and a libel, not on Cotton Mather alone, but on Stoughton, Winthrop, Sewall, and all the other members of the court. That these men were deluded, and, under the influence of strong delusion, committed great injustice, I do not doubt. But that they were *vindictive* in their feelings and judgments, I

* Particularly Chief Justice Stoughton.

† Cotton Mather says, in the *Magnalia*, Vol. I. p. 189, that "sundry of the accused persons were brought to trial, while this opinion" (as to the validity of spectral evidence) "was yet prevailing in the minds of *the judges and the juries*;" and that "*divers were condemned, against whom the chief evidence was founded in the spectral exhibitions.*" Mr. Thomas Brattle also proves, that the most of those who were committed and condemned, *suffered on the devil's testimony.* He also says that, "excepting Mr. Hale, Mr. Noyes and Mr. Parris, *the Rev. Elders, almost throughout the whole country, are very much dissatisfied*" with the decisions of the judges. See *Mass. Hist. Collections*, 1st series, Vol. V. pp. 68-75.

do not believe. There certainly is no evidence of their vindictiveness, but all the evidence that has come down to us goes to contradict directly such a supposition. Judge Sewall, in his humble confession, several years after, makes no acknowledgment of vindictiveness. Chief Justice Stoughton affirmed, that "when he sat in judgment, *he had the fear of God before his eyes, and gave his opinion according to the best of his understanding*; and although it might appear afterwards that he had been in an error, yet he saw no necessity of a public acknowledgment."* Cotton Mather, speaking of the judges, says: Although "I was always afraid of proceeding to condemn any person upon so feeble evidence as a spectral representation, and ever protested against it publicly and privately, and in my letters to the judges *besought* them that they would by no means admit it," yet, when "I saw in most of the judges a most charming instance of *prudence and patience, and knew the exemplary prayer and anguish of soul, wherewith they had sought the direction of Heaven, above most other people*, I could not but speak honorably of their persons on all occasions."† In reference to these judges, the authors of the Reply to Calef say (p. 6): "What was done by them in the dark time of our troubles from the invisible world, *all honest men believe they did in conscience of the oath of God upon them; and they followed, unto the best of their understanding, as we are informed, the precedents of England and Scotland, and other nations*, on such a dark and doleful occasion." Thus much for the "*vindictiveness*" of the judges.

The other part of the charge, viz., that Cotton Mather, in his Wonders of the Invisible World, "approved the proceedings of the courts, and excited them to a perseverance in their vindictiveness," is equally unfounded. For, in the first place, he did not altogether approve the proceedings of the courts. This is evident, from what has been already said; particularly from the contrariety of their proceedings, in the admission of testimony, to his private letters to them, and to the advices of the ministers, which he drew up. He also tells us expressly: "*I could not allow the principles that some of the judges had espoused.*"‡ In his Magnalia, too, Mr. Mather expresses the opinion

* Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass., Vol. II. p. 62.

† See Am. Biography, Vol. VI. p. 256.

‡ Am. Biography, Vol. VI. p. 257. Life by his Son, p. 45.

that the judges proceeded *too far*, and *were chargeable with mistakes*, particularly in respect to the kind of evidence which they admitted, and on which they more or less relied.* And if, as we have seen, the judges *were not vindictive*, it is impossible that Mr. Mather should have excited them “to *persevere* in their vindictiveness.”†

There is another fact in the life of Cotton Mather, which is worthy to be mentioned here, and which shows that he did not altogether sympathize with the course pursued, in reference to those who were thought to be bewitched. “He offered, at the *beginning*, that if the possessed people might be scattered far asunder, he would singly provide for *six of them*; and he, with some others, would see whether (without more bitter methods) prayer and fasting would not put an end unto these heavy trials. But his offer was not accepted.”‡ Had this method been taken, in the case of the sufferers, it is probable that the country had

* Vol. II. p. 414.

† The treatise referred to by President Quincy, entitled “Wonders of the Invisible World,” was drawn up at the command of his excellency Gov. Phipps, with the recommendation and thanks of the Lieut. Governor, and with the consent and approbation of Dr. Increase Mather, and the other ministers in and near Boston. Also two of the judges, Stoughton and Sewall, appended a written certificate, as to the truth of the statements. It contains an abridgment of several English works on witchcraft, particularly of the trials of the two women who were condemned by Sir Matthew Hale, in 1664; also a full account of several of the principal trials at Salem. Speaking of these trials, Mr. Mather says: “I was not present at any of them; nor had I ever any prejudice against the persons thus brought upon the stage; much less at the surviving *relations* of those persons, with whom I would be as hearty a mourner as any man living in the world. The Lord comfort them! But having received a *command* so to do, I can do no other than relate the chief matters of fact, which occurred in the trials of some that were executed, in an abridgment collected out of the court papers put into my hands. You are to take the truth, just as it was; and the truth will hurt no good man. These may serve to illustrate the way of dealing, wherein witchcrafts use to be concerned. I report matters, not as an advocate, but as an *historian*.” p. 81,

‡ Life by his Son, p. 45.

not been disgraced, and that not one of the accused had lost his life under the charge of witchcraft.

But it is further urged against Cotton Mather, that, not satisfied with the tragedy at Salem, he tried to renew the same scenes in Boston, and actually succeeded in getting up a case of witchcraft there the following year. "To cover his confusion," says Mr. Bancroft, "he *got up* a case of witchcraft, in his own parish, in 1693."* "He succeeded, the next summer," says Mr. Upham, "in *getting up* a wonderful case of witchcraft, in the person of one Margaret Rule, a member of his congregation in Boston."† The only circumstance adduced as evidence that Cotton Mather had any instrumentality in causing the alleged witchcraft of Margaret Rule, is a certain private letter, addressed by him to Stephen Sewall, Esq., of Salem, dated Sept. 20th, 1692, and requesting of him "a narrative of the evidences given in at the trials" of some of the principal witches, which had then been recently condemned. His object in requesting such a narrative was, that he might be the better able to meet objections against witchcraft, and defend (so far as he might find them defensible) the proceedings of his friends at Salem. "I am willing," says he, "that when you write, you should imagine me as obstinate a Sadducee and witch advocate, as any among us. Address me as one that believed nothing reasonable. And when you have so knocked me down, in a spectre so unlike me, you will enable me to box it about among my neighbors, till it come, I know not where, at last."‡ Mr. Upham, and after him Mr. Peabody, seem to understand from this letter, that Mr. Mather, having collected all the witch stories he could find, intended to color and magnify them, and box them about among his neighbors, till they came at last to something, he could hardly tell what.—Now, taking it for granted that the above is *the right interpretation of the letter*, is it certain that these stories, after they had been boxed about, were the cause of the sickness, or the derangement of Margaret Rule? I think it would be hard to substantiate any such connection.—But is the above the right interpretation of the letter? I am fully satisfied that it is not; and I am astonished that the gentlemen above named should have so blundered upon it, as they seem to have done. What was it that Mr. Mather pro-

* Hist. of U. States, Vol. III. p. 97.

† Lectures on Witchcraft, p. 289.

‡ Ibid. p. 286.

posed to "box about among his neighbors?" Not the witch stories that his friend Sewall might send him, but *the fallen spectre of Sadduceeism*, which Sewall had knocked down. "When you have knocked me down, in a spectre so unlike me, you will enable me to box it" (the fallen spectre) "about, among my neighbors, till it (the spectre) come, I know not where at last." This is the strict and proper meaning of the sentence; and it is very different, as every one sees, from the forced, perverted meaning of Messrs. Upham and Peabody. Mr. Mather was a firm believer in the reality of witchcraft, and, like most men of that age, he regarded the disbelief of it as a sort of Sadduceeism, which was little better than infidelity. This unbelieving spirit he saw working around him, and he sought the means of counteracting and overthrowing it. It was with this view that he wrote to his friend at Salem, for "a narrative of the evidences given in at the trials of some of the principal witches which had just been condemned."

That Mr. Mather had no agency in producing the strange appearances in Margaret Rule, is evident from the fact that Calef does not charge him with it, or so much as intimate it;—also from the consideration, that he seems to have had no acquaintance with Margaret Rule, or knowledge of her, before her troubles commenced. But especially is this evident, from the obvious nature of her disease. Her case, though regarded by Mr. Mather at the time, and by many others, as one of witchcraft, was clearly of a very different character. It seems to have been no other than a protracted case of delirium tremens, and other mental sufferings, occasioned by *the habitual use of rum*. For nine days together, she swallowed little or nothing, "except an occasional spoonful of rum." When her attendants were asked: "What does she eat and drink?" they answered: "She eats nothing at all, but drinks rum." No wonder she saw the spectres around her, and seemed to persons not acquainted with such appearances, to have been bewitched. If this is the right explanation of her case, as I have no doubt it is, and as Mr. Peabody himself seems to understand it, then Mr. Mather will stand clear of having *produced* it, unless it can be shown that he persuaded her to drink rum, and become intoxicated.

In concluding this discussion of Cotton Mather's connection with the excitement respecting witchcraft, the following points seem to me to be well supported. Like most of the learned men

of that age, Mr. Mather was a sincere believer in the reality of witchcraft; and that the witch, on due and proper conviction, was worthy of death. He had no concern in *getting up* cases of witchcraft, in Boston, or Salem, or anywhere else; nor when they occurred, did he *rejoice* in them; but they were to him, as they were to most others at that day, events of solemn and painful interest. In regard to the cases at Salem, he was not in favor, at the first, of *legal* proceedings, but preferred that the bewitched persons should be separated, and that religious means should be used for their recovery. And when judicial proceedings had been instituted, he was opposed to the admission of "the spectral evidence," or any other evidence which could be regarded as resting on the devil's authority. He privately wrote to the judges, beseeching them not to proceed on such evidence, and drew up cautions and restrictions, in the advices of the ministers, which, had they been duly regarded, would probably have saved the lives of all the accused. Nevertheless, believing the judges to be sincerely intent on doing right, he did not think it his duty to oppose and vilify them, though he disapproved of some of their proceedings. After the executions were past, at the command of Gov. Phipps, he prepared and published a volume, containing, with other things, an attested history of the trials of some of the principal witches.

Such are, in brief, *the facts*, in relation to Mr. Mather's opinions and doings, with reference to the subject of witchcraft; and for one I find little to censure, which may not be resolved into the peculiarity of his natural disposition, and the *solemn belief* which, in common with most at that day, he cherished, as to the reality of diabolical agency in the case. I would not, of course, undertake to defend every word he uttered, and every action he performed, during the whole of this perplexing business; but, forgive him the wrong of *his belief*, (if it be a wrong,) and admit him to have been sincere and honest in his *convictions*; and I see little in what he did which does not, at least, appear *consistent*, and which, if it cannot be fully justified, may not readily be excused.

[*To be continued.**]

* We regret that we cannot include in the present article the author's *consideration of other objections against Cotton Mather*, which to us is the most interesting portion of his vindication of the character of that New-England Father. But the lack of space compels us to defer it. Eds.

ARTICLE V.

REMARKS IN REPLY TO THE QUESTIONS OF "INQUIRER."⁵⁹

By Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D. Prof. of Theology, Theol. Sem. Andover, Mass.

[Continued from Vol. VI. p. 383.]

IN the last number of the Repository, I made several remarks in relation to what has appeared to be a very difficult point; namely, if wrong affections and desires arise in the mind *spontaneously*, or, of their own accord, whether we previously choose them or not, then how are we culpable for them?

In regard to this question I have one thing further to say, which does, I think, by itself, settle the matter at once. We are, without doubt, under perfect obligation to obey the first and great command, and the second, which is like unto it. Now if, in conformity with these commands, we love God with all the heart, and soul, and mind, and strength, and our neighbor as ourselves, wrong affections will be excluded. There will be no place for them, because the mind will be occupied and filled with those which are holy. In the pure and holy mind of Jesus no sinful emotions were ever found. Now it is very clear, that we must be blameworthy and inexcusable for those wrong mental acts which take place in consequence of our neglecting a great and obvious duty. If our loving God and man as we ought would keep all right in the movements of our hearts, and would effectually exclude all improper feelings; we are most certainly answerable not only for neglecting that primary duty, but for all those improper feelings which rush into the mind in consequence of our neglect. Is not a man answerable for the noxious weeds which grow in his garden, when he might have prevented them by preoccupying the ground with useful plants?

Inquirer signifies that desires after forbidden objects, burning unawares in the minds of men, may be evidences of their "*having been* very wicked, or their having inherited a constitution greatly vitiated." But he sees not "how they can be proof of

present wickedness, provided they are immediately resisted, and never fostered or indulged." Here it is important to keep in mind what was said in the last number of the Repository, that there are two classes of desires ;—those which are of an inferior kind, belonging particularly to our animal nature, and those which are of a moral or spiritual nature.

Take as an instance of the first kind, a desire for strong drink. This is generally the effect of the frequent use of such drink, though it sometimes comes from a vitiated constitution. In regard to such a desire or appetite as this, it is very clear that, in itself, separate from circumstances, it has not a moral nature, and that it may exist without involving any guilt. But if a man, with the requisite information as to consequences, does any thing to form the appetite, or to indulge and continue it, he becomes culpable ;—culpable for doing that which he knows to be hurtful to the body and the soul ; just as he would be for using any other poison, or for voluntarily forming an appetite for it. The guilt does not lie in the bodily appetite, or the bodily act of indulging it, but in the *intention* or *choice* of the *mind* to indulge it, when the consequence is known.

The other class of affections and desires are, in their own nature, *moral* or *spiritual*. They have a direct and necessary relation to moral law, and cannot exist without being praiseworthy or blameworthy. Such is love to God, and enmity against him. If such an object as God is presented before the mind of a rational being, *loving* will be a holy and praiseworthy act, an act of obedience, and *hating* will be sinful, an act of disobedience. You will say, he must have requisite knowledge, before he can be accountable. I admit that he must have some knowledge or discernment of the object. But as soon as the object is before his mind, and he discerns it, he has sufficient knowledge to render him accountable for the acts he puts forth towards it. Is it said, he cannot be accountable for the *first* act of love or hatred, but only for continuing it, and for fostering and indulging it ? I reply ; if the goodness or badness of the affection or mental act lies in its *nature*, it must belong to the *first* act as well as to the *second*. If the *first* act of love to God is not in itself right and praiseworthy, how can the *second* be ? And if the *first* act of enmity is not in itself wrong, how can the *second* be ? The moral law requires love and forbids enmity. And when we put forth the first act of love, do we not *as really* obey the law, as when we repeat the act ? If obedi-

ence does not begin with the first act of love; it must be because love is not morally good in its own nature, but only on account of the circumstance of its being *repeated*. But I ask again, how can it be praiseworthy to *repeat* an act, unless the act is right? So on the other hand, when we put forth the first act of enmity, do we not disobey the law as really as when we put forth the second act? If not, it must be because the law does not forbid the first act of enmity, but only the repetition of it. And then the question comes up, why the law forbids the *repetition* of an act, while it *allows* the act in the first instance. Must it not be, because the act has nothing wrong in its own nature?

As the result of our inquiries, do we not find, that one class of affections and desires are, in themselves, of a moral nature, and that he who exercises them is always praiseworthy or blameworthy? If a man loves God and man, whether it is the first act of love, or the second, and whatever the circumstances, he has holiness. But in regard to the other class of affections above mentioned, is it not evident, that they are not of a moral nature in themselves, and that it is merely the consideration of *consequences*, which gives a moral aspect to our conduct respecting them?

Inquirer refers to the case of our Saviour's temptations, and says: "If he had no desires or emotions like our own, on such occasions," (i. e. when he was tempted,) "then how was he tempted *in all points*, as we are? If he had such emotions, and these emotions are, as Dr. Woods says, sins of the deepest die, then how was he tempted, and yet remained without sin?"

It is very difficult for me to reply as I should wish, to such a statement as this, because it is difficult to speak of the feelings and character of Christ with becoming reverence. I will, however, venture to offer a few suggestions.

The Scripture does indeed say, that Jesus was in all points *tempted* as we are. But where does it say, that he had the *same emotions and desires with us*? Saying this would, in my apprehension, be utterly incompatible with the spotless purity and holiness of Christ.

The word *temptation* is sometimes used to denote that irregular desire of the depraved heart, which leads to actual transgression; as in James 1: 14: "Every man is *tempted*, when he is *drawn away of his own lust, and enticed*." Jesus was never tempted in this way. This is not the kind of temptation to which he was subjected. All other men are by nature sin-

ners ; born in such a state, that they must be born again to prepare them for the kingdom of heaven. From the first, their moral affections are corrupt ; their moral nature is depraved. They have no holiness. And the actings of their minds, so far as they are of a moral nature, are all sinful. And as to those emotions and desires which do not directly relate to moral objects, and which are not, in themselves, either morally good or evil, I cannot but think they are all affected, all tainted by the moral disorder of the heart. Even the natural affections, the corporeal and social emotions, desires and instincts, which are faultless and pure when the heart is pure, even these become irregular and faulty, by dwelling in a depraved heart. The evil pervades the whole man. There is no soundness in him. He is corrupt to the very centre of his being. And “ to them that are defiled, nothing is pure.” How can any thing in a heart that is “ desperately wicked,” be what it would be in a heart perfectly undefiled ? In this respect, Jesus was exceedingly unlike all other men. He had human nature ; but his human nature was uncorrupt. From the first he was holy, harmless, undefiled. He never existed in any other state. He never needed to be born again. And he never had a single thought, emotion or desire, which varied, in the least, from the rule of righteousness. He was indeed *tempted*. But how ? Not by any irregular inclination, any lust, any solicitation to sin within his own mind. He said to his disciples : “ Ye are they that have followed me in my temptations.” What were his temptations ? Let the story of his life answer. “ He suffered, being tempted.” All his sufferings were temptations, or trials. The original word, rendered *tempt*, signifies *to try, to put to the proof, in order to ascertain the disposition or character of any one*. All the sufferings of Christ *tried* him, as the furnace tries the gold. They showed what he was. The opposition and enmity of the Jews, the ingratitude and obduracy of those for whose benefit he came into the world, and all the evils he endured from time to time, especially in the closing scene of his life, were *temptations* or *trials*, and made it manifest that he was without sin. If men are corrupt, trials will be likely to show it. If they are holy, trials will make that manifest. Any one who carefully attends to the word of God, will be satisfied, that the *temptations* spoken of, generally refer to the *afflictions* or *sufferings* of life. In this sense Christ was *tempted* or *tried* as we are. He endured all that variety of suf-

ferings which his people endure, so that, by his own experience, he learned how to sympathize with them. And he passed through all these trials without sin.

He was also subjected to temptation in another way. The devil *tempted* him, that is, *solicited him to commit sin*. But he found "nothing in him." John 14 : 30. He found no sinful propensity, no depraved disposition, no bias to evil, which could give effect to temptation. The solicitation to sin was from without, not from within,—from the wicked one, not from any thing in the heart of Jesus.

Thus it appears, that Jesus experienced *temptations* of two kinds ; first, in the way of *solicitation to sin*, presented before his mind from without, and secondly, *temptation* in the way of *suffering*. But neither the one nor the other had any effect, except to exercise his virtue, to show that he had no sin, to manifest his unbending rectitude and perfect purity. We see then, that his being tempted as we are, did not by any means imply, that he was like us in moral feeling, or that temptation had the same effect upon him as it has upon us, or that he had "rising desires or emotions like our own on such occasions," as Inquirer speaks. His temptations proved the contrary. They proved that, by his perfect holiness, he was effectually shielded against those "desires and emotions" which temptations are apt to excite in our corrupt hearts. We are always in danger of being led into sin by temptations. But it was not so with Jesus. For us, the only way of safety is to flee from temptations. But Jesus had no occasion to flee. He was perfectly safe in the midst of temptations, however multiplied and severe. He was like pure gold, gold unmixed with any alloy, upon which the furnace has no effect, but to make its purity manifest.

Such has been my impression as to the character of Christ, his spotless purity, and the strength of holy principle in his heart. Will Inquirer say that this impression has been incorrect, and that I have thought more highly of the character of Jesus than the apostle did, when he declared him to be "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners?" How was Jesus separate from sinners, except in what constitutes moral character, that is, in the desires and affections of his heart, and in his outward actions ? Until I am otherwise informed, I must consider it altogether unjust and dishonorable to the blessed Saviour, to infer from the fact that he was tempted as we are, that

temptation excited in him any "emotions and desires," like those which it generally excites in such minds as ours. At one time the tempter endeavored to excite pride or ambition in his heart, and thus to draw him into sin. But no pride or ambition was found there. At another time, the tempter addressed his motive to the appetite of hunger. But Jesus was governed by a higher principle. The desire of food, however strong, had no influence upon him in opposition to duty. His natural appetites and passions were entirely subject to the will of God. His mind and heart were filled with spiritual thoughts and spiritual affections and joys; and he had not a single rebellious desire or feeling,—he had not a single movement within him, which his conscience or his God would disapprove, or which he could ever wish to have been otherwise. He had no inclination or tendency to comply with temptation. He had no selfish disposition, no corrupt desire, no depravity of heart, for temptation to work upon. And he had no such weakness, no such want of firmness, as Adam had, to expose him to the influence of temptation. As to ourselves, in our fallen state, we have to resist not only solicitations to sin from *without*, but solicitations from *within*, that is, sinful inclinations. And we know too well, that it is these sinful inclinations, these corrupt desires of our hearts, that give force to temptation. Our warfare is within; it is with the sin that dwells in us. And if we obtain a conquest, it is chiefly the conquest of indwelling sin. But Jesus had no indwelling sin to conquer, no unholy desire to resist, no pride, no selfishness, no wickedness of heart to subdue. So unlike was he to us in regard to the state of his mind, and every thing which constitutes character; though he was like us in regard to what are commonly and more properly called *temptations*.

I had said, that our affections and desires are really our *actions*, (i. e. our *mental* actions,) and that our mind is as much the producing cause of them, as of our *volitions*. This Inquirer thinks inconsistent with the position which I maintain, namely, that the presence of appropriate objects *spontaneously* awakens these desires. But how is it inconsistent? To say, that the presence of appropriate objects *spontaneously* awakens our affections and desires, is the same as to say, that we ourselves, as intelligent, moral agents, spontaneously put forth affections and desires in view of those objects; or, that we spontaneously act in the way of loving and desiring, or the contrary, when the

objects are before us ; or, to express it in another way still,—that when proper objects are presented to view, we do, at once, either love or hate, either desire or not desire. Now why should it be supposed, that our mind, in any such case, is *less active* because it acts *spontaneously*? or, that our loving and desiring are not our own actions, because we love and desire *promptly*, without any painstaking, as soon as the object comes before us? Who can suppose, that the act of loving God, in the spirits of just men made perfect, is any the less their act, or any the less excellent and praiseworthy, because they love *readily* and *spontaneously* ; or that hating God, in the minds of wicked beings in hell, is any the less their own act, or any the less vile and blameworthy, because they hate God at once, spontaneously, whenever they think of him? Must something come between the sight of the object and our loving it, to make our loving it our own responsible act? What a strange imagination! Just draw it out before you, and see how it appears. If a man loves God and delights in him with all his heart, as soon as he thinks of him, he does nothing morally good. And why? Because he loves *spontaneously*, sua sponte, of his own accord, freely, from the impulse of his own mind! If his love did not arise so soon ; if his heart was a little reluctant and slow to move, and waited to have its love excited by something besides the sight of the divine excellence—by some effort of reasoning, or some urgency of will, it would deserve the name of holiness ; but not as it is. And if a man is *displeased* with God, and his heart rises in enmity against him, as soon as the thought of his character comes to his mind, it is not sin! And why? Because the displeasure or hatred rises in his mind *spontaneously* ; in other words, because he hates God at once, as soon as he thinks of him, without waiting for any previous exercise of mind! And if a man at once feels complacency in wickedness, it is no fault of his, because he does it *spontaneously*!

I suppose this opinion is adopted, not from the suggestions of an enlightened conscience, but from a desire to support a favorite metaphysical theory,—the theory, that nothing is of a moral nature unless it is *voluntary*, i. e. unless it follows an act of the will. This theory, like every other theory, is, in some respects, true ; but it needs explanation to make it well understood, and much care to exclude what is erroneous. It is true in regard to *external bodily actions*. For these we are not responsible, unless they are *voluntary*, that is, unless they take place in obedi-

ence to an act of the will. This is plain. The actions, in themselves, are neither morally good nor evil. This is not a conclusion to which we come by reasoning. It is a direct moral perception. Nothing can be more evident than that external, bodily actions have no morality in them, except in relation to an act of the mind. They must be *voluntary*; that is, they must depend on a *previous volition*; they must result from an act of the will.

The same is true in regard to many acts of the *mind*. In themselves they are not of a moral nature; and we regard them as right or wrong, and are responsible for them, only as they are controlled by the acts of the will, and are directed to a good or bad end.

You may ask, how we can determine what acts of the mind are in themselves morally good or evil. I answer, we can do this, *first*, by the help of conscience. As to one class of mental exercises, a feeling of approbation or disapprobation accompanies them, or is consequent upon them. By the constitution of our nature, we are led to pronounce them right or wrong. *Why* we have this feeling of approbation or disapprobation, we cannot tell, any more than we can give the reason why we have the idea of colors when the rainbow is before us, or the idea of sweetness or bitterness when we taste honey or wormwood. It is an ultimate fact, arising from the law of our nature. The same is true of the emotion of *envy* or *malice*, and various other affections of the mind. We regard them as bad in themselves. And by our moral constitution we are led to regard other affections or emotions as in themselves good and praiseworthy. The same law of our nature leads us to look upon another class of mental actions as, in themselves, neither right nor wrong, and to look upon ourselves as neither praiseworthy nor blameworthy for them, except with a view to the motives by which we are influenced. This is the case with what we call the natural affections, and with purely intellectual acts.

Secondly. We can distinguish those acts of the mind which are in themselves of a moral nature from those which are not, by the *moral law*. That which the law requires, and as the law requires it, is right. The contrary is wrong. Now the law requires the affection of *love*, and love implies that we have complacency in the divine character, or, as the Scripture expresses it, that we delight ourselves in the Lord. Without cordial complacency in God, we cannot rightly seek his glory, nor

rightly determine to serve him, nor rightly choose him as our God and portion. And as the law requires love to God, we know that love, in all its forms and exercises, is morally right. Here conscience and the divine law perfectly agree. The awakened, convinced sinner, both from his conscience and from the requirement of the moral law, knows that the enmity of his heart against God, which no act of his will can remove, is, in itself, exceedingly sinful. And when, through the renewing of the Holy Spirit, he begins to feel complacency in the character and government of God, and a hearty desire for the enjoyment of God; he knows that complacency and desire to be right. In all this neither the divine law nor conscience has any thing at all to do with the inquiry, whether either the good or the bad affection is exercised in consequence of a previous volition. We look directly at the affection itself, whether love or hatred, and we see it to be right or wrong. We see it to be such a movement or action of our moral nature as we ought or ought not to have. This emotion of love and of enmity is evidently mental *action*, as really as reasoning or willing. And the act of love is surely possessed of as high a degree of excellence as any act of reasoning or willing. And no act of reasoning or willing, however perverse, can be more criminal, than the act of enmity in the heart.

And here I beg leave to say, though I may have said the same in substance before, that I cannot but regard it as a great and pernicious mistake, to turn off our attention from the *nature* of the mental state or mental exercise, called *love*, or *enmity*, and instead of judging of it by the plain rule of conscience and the divine law, to make another rule, and judge of it as we do of other things so widely different, that is, *external actions*, by the circumstance of *its following an act of the will*.

We shall fail of doing full justice to this subject, unless we keep in mind the obvious fact, that the very acts of the will which control the actions of the body and certain actions of the mind do, after all, depend for their moral character on that affection or disposition of the mind from which they proceed. Volitions, or acts of the will, taken in the sense now intended, are good or bad only as they are prompted by the desires or feelings of the heart. A man wills to give money to a charitable institution. But how can you tell whether the act of his will is right or wrong, unless you know by what inward motive he is influenced? If he determines to give money from real benevo-

lence to man, or from a desire to honor God, the determination is right, and we commend him for it. But if he does it from love of praise, or any other selfish motive, we regard the act of his will as unworthy and base. Though you may hold to it as a theory, that all virtue and vice lie in the acts of the will, yet, in spite of that theory, you always pronounce such acts of the will as those above mentioned, to be good or bad, according as they are prompted by a benevolent and pious disposition, or the contrary. The goodness or badness, which is commonly attributed to these volitions, is found ultimately in the disposition or affection of the mind from which the volitions proceed. Thus men judge, and thus they always will judge. We come here to the ultimate fact, concerning which there can be no doubt. And after we come to the ultimate fact,—to that inward affection or disposition of the mind, which is, in itself, morally good or evil,—how can any one still say, it is neither good nor evil, *unless it proceeds from an act of the will*? It is *itself* good or evil, whether it proceeds from any other mental act or not. If, as soon as we perceive holy objects, we love them, this first exercise of affection is right. And if an act of the will preceded it, still its rectitude would not be owing to this circumstance. For surely an act of the will cannot be supposed to alter the real nature of that which is willed.

I have already suggested how the opinion, that we are responsible for nothing except what results from an act of the will, is occasioned; that is, by regarding our most inward spiritual affections as of the same nature with our outward actions. But this is altogether unwarranted. For how can we judge, that a particular thing is true of *all* our actions, however different from each other, because it is true of *some* of them? According to the law of our nature, a part and only a part of our actions fall under the control of the will; while the will itself is as really governed by our dispositions and affections, as any of our actions are by the will. And can it be that those deep inward affections, those dispositions of the heart, which control the acts of the will, are themselves controlled by the will? If we inquire after the matter of fact, we shall soon find what is the real province of the will, and how far its decisions govern our bodily acts, and our other mental acts. And nothing is more obvious and certain, than that those acts, both of the body and the mind, which are directly controlled by the dictation of the will, are not those which we regard as in themselves mor-

ally good or evil, and that the goodness or badness which we predicate of them, and of the determinations of the will which govern them, is only secondary and relative, being derived from the predominant affection. This is the practical judgment of all men. If any one wills to do an action from sincere benevolence; that action is judged by all to be praiseworthy, not because it follows an act of the will, but because the act of the will leading to it is influenced by a good affection. But if any one wills to do the same outward action from pride or selfishness; the action itself, and the volition leading to it, is universally regarded as unworthy and base. And why? Not because of any intrinsic evil in the voluntary action itself, but because it sprang from such an inward motive, such a disposition of the heart. Thus, how different soever the speculative theories which men may advocate on this subject; they all agree in their practical judgment. Good and evil are found ultimately in the disposition or affection of the heart, or nowhere.

It will be seen that I have thus far used the word *volition*, or act of the will, to denote that imperative or executive act of the mind, which directs something to be done, or leads to the doing of it. This is the sense which is given to the word by Locke, and generally by more recent writers, and in common discourse.

But there is another sense, which is found more or less both in common and in philosophical discourse, and which is favored by some passages of Scripture, and by the usage of the older class of writers on moral and religious subjects. According to this usage, the *will* stands for *the whole moral faculty*, or *the moral nature* of man. All the affections and dispositions belong to the will. Love and hatred, desire and aversion, and all the feelings of the heart, are considered as properties and acts of the will. So Edwards generally uses the word, though not always.

Now it is clear, that using the word *will* in this extensive sense makes a great alteration in the mode of speaking and reasoning on the subject. And unless we are specially attentive to the meaning which different writers attach to the word, we shall be involved in confusion, and shall be unable to do justice either to them, or to the subject they treat. If the word *will* is taken in this large sense, then indeed nothing is of a moral nature but volitions, or acts of the will. To be pleased and to be displeased, to love and to hate, to desire and to feel aversion, are all acts or states of the *will*. So are all the emo-

tions, all the feelings of the heart, especially those relating to moral objects.—If now you think proper to give the word this broad signification, and *will take care uniformly to adhere to it*, I will not complain, but will endeavor, as far as I can, to fall into your track, and to use words and phrases as you do. And this may perhaps prevent some difficulties. For now you can say, we are responsible for our *affections and desires*, because they are *voluntary*; not *consequences* of volition, but themselves volitions, or acts of the will, and controlled by the will only as the will puts them forth. We could not however go far in this way, without finding it necessary to distinguish among these various acts of the will, and to arrange them under different heads or classes, as has often been done, making some *generic* or *immanent* volitions, such as the habitual affections or dispositions of the heart; and others *specific, emanent, or imperative*, such as the determinations or decisions of the mind as to particular things to be done. These last are the manifestation or the coming forth of the former in specific actions. So be it. The name we give to a thing does not alter its nature. Whether we call love to God voluntary or involuntary, an affection or volition, it is really the same thing. Calling it voluntary does not make it holy and praiseworthy, and calling it involuntary would not take away its praiseworthiness. Whatever epithet we apply to it in metaphysical discourse, it is the sum of obedience to the moral law.

But after giving this wide sense to the words *will* and *volition*, suppose you start from it, either designedly or inadvertently, and deny that such and such affections have any morality in them, because they arise instantly in the mind when moral objects are presented, and do not follow an act of the will. Well, what if they do not follow an act of the will? According to your manner of using words, they are *themselves acts of the will*. Do you say, that in order to be moral acts, they must not only *be* acts of the will, but must be voluntary in the other sense, that is, must *follow another* act of the will, and be controlled by it? To be consistent then, you must say, that love to God and man is not a moral act, because we know it does not arise in the mind as the effect of a previous volition. If you insist that no affection or desire can be morally good or bad, unless it is *voluntary*, I will only request you to fix the meaning of the word voluntary, and to adhere to it uniformly. You must use the word to denote either that which is itself an

act of the will, or that which *follows* an act of the will. Take one or the other of these senses, as you please, but *not both*. If you take the first, then you may say, love to God and love to man, and other affections required of us, are morally good, and the contrary affections morally evil, because they are *voluntary*, that is, *acts of the will*. And if you regard them as really acts of the will, you cannot surely think it any disadvantage, that the will puts them forth *spontaneously*, or exercises them very promptly. We should naturally expect it would do this, because the will, or the moral faculty, is exceedingly active, and generally brings out its exercises with but little urgency, and without delay, as soon as the object comes into view. In these affections or emotions you have, then, what you regard as completely moral in their nature, *being acts of the will*. Now take care not to slip away from this sense to the other, and say, whatever is of a moral nature, must be *voluntary*, meaning that it must be the *effect* or *consequence* of an act of the will. If you take this as the sense of *voluntary*, then, according to your scheme, the affection of love to God is not morally good, because it is not *voluntary*, that is, because it is not the *consequence of a volition*. And here the falsity of such a scheme would be apparent, because we know that love to God is a moral excellence, although it does not arise in the heart as a consequence of an act of the will. The other sense of the word would by no means free you from difficulties. For if *voluntary* is taken to mean that which is itself a *volition*, or *act of the will*, then clearly no external bodily action can be voluntary; because such bodily action certainly is not a volition, or act of the will. Now I only ask you to take your choice of the two senses of the word *voluntary*, and the two senses of *volition* and *will*, and keep uniformly to the sense you choose in the expression of your opinion, and then let the consequences appear.

I shall only add, that if you assert that all virtue and vice lie in the acts of the will, and if by the acts of the will you mean its *imperative* or *executive* acts, you then make virtue and vice to lie in that which really has no moral nature, except in a secondary or relative sense, i. e. as derived from the inward disposition or motive. But if when you assert that all virtue and vice, all that is praiseworthy and all that is blameworthy lie in the acts of the will, you mean to include in the acts of the will all the affections, dispositions, desires and emotions, as well as

the volitions ; I have only to say, that using the word in such a large sense,—a sense which includes things so widely different in their nature,—must be unfavorable to clearness in treatises on the philosophy of the mind, and that your position, even as now explained, can be true only of those affections, emotions, desires and volitions, which relate to moral objects.

Inquirer presses the question : “ What is free agency ? ” In reply, I would describe free agency, not as a supposition or work of imagination, but as a *reality*, as a thing which truly exists among men. I take it to be a point in which we are all agreed, that man *is* a free, moral agent ; that in his common, every day conduct, he does really exercise a free, moral agency. If we agree in this, then all controversy is thus far excluded. Free, moral agency is a *standing fact*. And if we would know exactly what it is, and how it operates, we must look upon *the moral agent, man*, and see *what he does*, and *how he does it*. I am not now to say a word to prove that man is a free agent. Why prove that which is admitted by all ? What we have to do is to examine *the very agency* which man exercises, and to find out what it is, and what are its circumstances. And as all men are, in this respect, alike, you may take any one of them as an example. Take Paul then, and begin with his unconverted state. What did he do ? Why he studied ; he acquired learning ; he observed the ceremonial law according to the principles of the Pharisees ; and he persecuted the followers of Christ ; and he did all this under the influence of pride, self-complacency, bigotry, and a misguided conscience ; in other words, under the influence of a deceitful and wicked heart. He was governed, or governed himself, from worldly, selfish motives. He had that carnal mind, which is enmity against God. In all this, he was a free, moral agent ; *free*, because he followed his own inclination and choice, and was not influenced by physical force. He was *not* free from the influence of *motives*, but was completely governed by them, so far as he was rational and accountable. But he was free from whatever would prevent him from choosing and acting according to his own inclinations. He *had* inclinations, and he was free to follow them, and did follow them, just as all sinners do. Are we not agreed in this ? And Paul was a *moral agent*, because he exercised affections and performed actions which had a moral nature, and related to a moral law. Such was Paul before his conversion. And at his conversion, and after his conversion, he was equally

a free, moral agent. He repented. He believed. He engaged in preaching the gospel, and in all the labors of a Christian and an apostle. And in all these labors he was influenced by holy affections. The love of Christ *constrained* him. And this operated so strongly, that he says, a *necessity* was laid upon him. That necessity was his full conviction of duty, and the strength of his love to Christ and to the souls of men. But that necessity did not interfere with his *freedom*. Indeed, to act from *such* necessity, is to act *freely*. The power of his predominant affection was very great; but the greater the better. For just in proportion as that affection controlled his *voluntary agency*, that agency was right and commendable. It was *free* agency, and that in a twofold sense; first, free from physical compulsion, as it always had been; and secondly, free from the dominion of sinful passions and desires, which brings the worst kind of slavery. Thus it was with the Apostle Paul. Exercising his powers and faculties just as he did, he was a *free agent*; not free in all respects,—not free, surely, from the use of *reason*; not free from the influence of his own *affections* and *desires*; not free from the control of *right motives*; but free from whatever would prevent or in any way disturb his moral, accountable agency, and free from the dominion of sin.

And as it was with Paul, so it is with every man, whether good or bad. Acting just as he does, he is free. He has no want of any power or faculty which is required in moral agency; he has no principle operating in himself, and is exposed to no interference of foreign force, which in the least degree hinders his moral agency. There is, then, no need of conjecture, or hypothesis, or abstract reasoning, or hard and perplexed thinking on this subject. As a matter of inward consciousness, and a matter of fact, it is perfectly plain. And there is no room left for any one to say, unless we have such or such a power, or if we are influenced to act in such or such a way, how can we be free, moral agents? We *are* free, moral agents at any rate. This is settled. And the proper questions are: Do we really *possess* such a power? And *are* we influenced in such a way? Whatever is found to be the true answer to these inquiries, free, moral agency is not disturbed.

In order to ascertain facts, we inquire, how our outward actions and our intellectual operations are influenced by our volitions; and how our volitions are influenced by our inclinations and affections; and how the exercise of any particular affection

or desire is affected by what may be called the general habit or state of the mind ; and how the general habit or state of the mind is affected by natural temperament, by hereditary influence, by previous practice, or by any other cause. Determine what are the facts on these points, and you have done. It cannot be a question, whether the facts, whatever they are found to be, are consistent with free agency. We know that we *are* free. Whether we find that we possess any particular power, or not, it makes no difference. We are *free, moral agents*. Our outward actions being under the government of our volitions, does not interfere with our freedom. And if it is found true, that our volitions are governed by *motives*, it hinders not our being free. And if our motives, or our affections and desires, are affected by natural temperament, or by any other cause, still it hinders not our being moral agents. Or if in any or all of these cases, the *contrary* should be found to be true, we could not say that our moral agency is impaired. *Just as we are*, with just such faculties and sensibilities as we possess, and with just such a power of choice and action, and under just such influences or causes, we are *moral, accountable beings*. It is not left for us to determine what powers we *must* possess, and what *must* be our manner of acting, in order that we may be free agents. This has been determined for us by our Creator. The proper inquiry for us is, how God has formed us, and what powers and capacities he has given us, never taking upon us to say what they *must* be, but asking merely, what they *are*.

Suitable attention to the principle here stated would help us to settle our minds on a variety of controverted subjects. Take for example the question as to the power of choice. We do in fact make a choice every day between different things presented before us. Some individuals choose in one way, and some in another ; and the same individual chooses differently at different times. Thus *exercising* the power of choice, we know that we *have* it. But *how* do we exercise it ? In what manner, on what grounds or conditions, and under what influences do we put forth our choices ? This must be determined by an appeal to our own experience and consciousness. Review any one of the choices we have made. *Why* did we make it ? For what *reasons* ? What induced us to make that particular choice, rather than another ? In reference to all important cases, we can readily answer these inquiries ; and in this way we learn what may be called the *philosophy of choice*. If there

is any case so trivial, or so imperfectly recollected, that you cannot tell for what reasons you made the choice, or how you came to choose as you did; you may dispose of such a case as you please. But as to all instances which are plain, and which are important enough to be remembered, we can easily trace out the process of our minds in making a choice. If in any case there is remaining doubt, it can be removed by a careful observation of new instances of choice. Thus by attending to the operations of our own minds in this respect, we can determine the laws of the mind in regard to *choice*, as well as we can determine the laws of the mind in any other respect, or the laws of the physical world.

And why may not this same method enable us to solve the question respecting the power of a *contrary choice*? Examine the facts in the case. All agree that we have power to *choose*, and power to choose *as we do*. And we do choose in a great variety of circumstances, and in a great variety of ways; and every choice we make, and just *as* we make it, is an exercise of our free agency. When various objects of choice are before us, we examine and compare them. We deliberate, that is, weigh the reasons for and against choosing this or that. And finally, we determine in favor of that for which we think we have the best reasons. Is not this precisely the way in which we are accustomed to make a choice? The power of choosing in this way is the power of choice which we have actually exerted in all the important choices we have made? And is not this all the power which we deem desirable, or which is conceivable in regard to future instances of choice; the power to suspend our judgment, to examine, to deliberate, and finally to choose that for which we think we have the most weighty reasons, or that which is, on the whole, most agreeable to us?

Do you bring up the question, whether we are under a *necessity* of choosing as we do? My answer is, that we are under no necessity, except that which makes us rational, free, accountable beings. We *are* under this necessity; and we can never get away from it. It holds us fast; and will do so forever. We have no power to divest ourselves of our rationality, our freedom and accountability, how much soever we may desire it. The necessity which holds us to this, is perfect, absolute and uncontrollable. It is the unchangeable purpose of our almighty Creator and Preserver, that we shall be, and shall forever be free, moral, accountable beings. Many things are

submitted to our choice. But this is not. God has made us, and will continue us moral agents. And we can no more cease to be so, than we can cease to exist ;—can no more annihilate our moral agency, than we can annihilate our being. And every law or principle of action, which essentially belongs to us as moral agents, is also unalterable. It is a law of our being, that, in all our volitions and choices, we shall be influenced by motives, that is, by our inward affections and desires, and our views of outward objects ; and who can prevent the operation of this law ? Who, even if he could, would *wish* to prevent the operation of a law, which makes us *rational beings*,—a law which was established by the wisdom of God, and which therefore must be right ? If you suppose this is not an invariable law of the mind, then just produce an instance of volition or choice, which did not take place under the influence of motives. Produce an instance from your own experience. If there has been no instance from your past experience, then rouse your latent powers, and make an instance. Put forth some deliberate, rational choice, which shall be free and accountable, without being influenced by your own inclinations or desires, or by any objects presented before you. Or if you find that you cannot put forth a volition or choice which is *wholly* uninfluenced by motives, then put forth one which is *partly* influenced by motives, and partly not. Do this, and you will prove at least, that the above mentioned law is not the *only* law of our moral being. And by doing the former, you will prove that it is not the *invariable* law.

The same as to any other case. If you hold that you have a power to act in any particular way, then show that you have it, by some instance in which you exercise it. Surely there is nothing hard in this. If you possess the power in question, can you not easily bring it out to view by some exercise ? It would be very strange for you to say, that the power actually belongs to you, but that you can never exercise it. This, to all intents and purposes, would be the same, as to say that you have no such power ? If you say you have it and can exercise it, then *do* it, and thus put an end to all doubt.

I propose, in this way, to settle every question respecting power ; and I think the proposal is reasonable, and I am almost certain that it will not be objected to. For myself, I agree to abide by it. If I assert that any power or principle belongs to man, I will adduce plain and acknowledged instances from

your experience, as well as my own, and instances as numerous as you please, in which it has been and is exercised. I ask the same of you. It is an equal rule, and it is the same as is commonly applied to similar cases. Suppose a man says, he has power to fly; that is, to rise from the ground and move about in the air. We say, it is impossible, he cannot do it. But by and by he makes a balloon, and by means of it rises to a great height in the air, and after moving to some distance, descends to the earth. In this way he convinces us that he has the power which he professed to have. He has proved it, and we are satisfied. Another man says, he is able to move a carriage or ship, and that very rapidly, by the force of steam. And though for a time we doubt the truth of his declaration, he finally convinces us by successful experiments. Another man says, he is able to produce such and such effects upon the mind and body of another by animal magnetism, that is, by the force of his own will, connected with certain motions of his hands. As philosophers and men of sense, we only ask him to exhibit before us plain, unquestionable, and sufficiently numerous and various experiments, in which he exerts the mysterious power. Let him do this, and we will be satisfied. And suppose that another man makes the singular affirmation, that he is able to fly or to move a ship, without any machinery, or any physical force, by the *mere act of his will*. Here, again, we only ask for evidence. Let him show, by fair experiments, that he can fly just as he can walk, in obedience to his will, and that, by the mere energy of his will, he can move a ship, just as he can move his arm, and we will dismiss our doubts, and acknowledge that he possesses a power which we never supposed within the province of human nature.

Apply the same principle to any other allegation in regard to power. I affirm, that a moral agent has power to originate or put forth volitions, or choices, under the influence of motives and in conformity with those which are to him the strongest. If you doubt it, I am ready to produce proof. I will point out as many instances as you desire, in which you yourself, and others, have originated or put forth volitions or choices in the way mentioned, and will describe very particularly and very intelligibly, the process of the mind in coming to such choices or determinations. Now suppose you affirm, that a moral agent has power to originate volitions in his own mind, *without* the influence of motives, or contrary to what are to him the strong-

est motives. I must look for evidence of such a power. I inquire, whether you or any others have actually originated volitions in this way. If so, I ask when it was done. And I ask you to describe, as well as you can, the process or processes through which the mind passed in producing such volitions. But what if you fail of finding any instances from past experience? Why, be sure, I will give you a fair chance. I will not consider the investigation ended, but will leave the door wide open for future evidence, and will keep my mind wide open to future conviction. If you say it is a supposable case, and is fairly within the province of human power, that a moral agent should actually choose differently from what he does, *all the circumstances of the case, and all the motives acting upon him from within and from without, being in every respect perfectly the same*;—I will not take upon me to contradict the assertion. I only ask for some fact to prove its truth. If there is any such fact, let it appear. And if no fact of the kind should be found in the past history of our race, still I would not close my mind against the influence of facts which may occur in future time. For the mind of man has wonderful resources, which I grant have been but very imperfectly understood; wonderful powers, which have been developed only in part. Perhaps some deep, secret principle, some new spring of mental action may come out to view, in the exercise of which we may do what had never been done before; or we may do clearly, in noonday light, what had been done only obscurely. So great may be the advance made in the improvement of the mind, and in the art of availing ourselves of its hidden resources, that we may be able to put forth volitions independently of motives. Heretofore, we have always been accustomed, in one way or another, to make use of our reason and judgment. But who can say that we may not attain to an ability to act without them? Heretofore we have made our choices, certainly our important ones, in consequence of something like deliberation, or the weighing of reasons; and we have considered those choices the most perfect, which resulted from the most careful and impartial deliberation, and which conformed most exactly to what we found to be the strongest reasons. But the time may come when, in the exercise of some newly discovered power, or some new application of power, we shall *will* and *choose* without *any* motives; and the volitions and choices which come out in this way, may be of a much higher order,

than the old-fashioned choices, which were always made under the embarrassing, despotic influence of motives, or *rational considerations*. Who knows but we may rise to such a state of improvement, as to cast off the mental bondage under which we have so long groaned, and to exercise the native energies of our spiritual nature *freely*, without being any longer tied down to choose and act in view of reasons? Under the guidance, then, of a just philosophy, I will abstain from any confident affirmations as to what the mind of a free agent may or may not possibly be capable of, and will patiently wait for more light from future experiments on the powers of our intellectual and moral nature.

In the discussion of this subject, my aim is to make the whole question respecting the powers or capabilities of a moral agent, a question of *facts*. In this way my own doubts and difficulties have been relieved; for I too, as well as Inquirer and other men who allow themselves to think, have had speculative difficulties in abundance on this subject. And I have thought, that the mode of investigation which has afforded relief to my own mind, may do something towards relieving the minds of others. With this view I make the proposal to any who wish to examine the controverted questions respecting the powers of man, that, *instead of pushing, in any case, the abstract inquiry, what it is possible for man to do, or what he has power or ability to do, we should endeavor, first of all, to determine what are the facts in the case,—the facts made known by past and present experience.* In what manner and under what influence does man, as an intelligent, moral being, act? Do not inquire first how he *can* act, but how he *does* act. As to his volitions: From what influence, and under what conditions does he put them forth? Is he in fact influenced in his choices by his predominant dispositions, affections and desires? And how far is he thus influenced? Does even conscience or the moral sense govern him, except as the inclinations or desires of the heart give force to its dictates? The same as to every other case. What are the real laws of our moral nature respecting it, as learnt from the history of any mind, and all minds, thus far? Has the particular thing, concerning which we inquire, ever taken place? Has man ever done it? And is there any reason to suppose he ever will do it? Whenever the question as to *power* or *ability* comes up, put it thus: Has man a power which has ever accomplished the thing; a power which has, in any instance, availed? Has

he a power which ever will avail, even in the most favorable circumstances? In regard to this, we can agree. Let us look at the question respecting the power of the unrenewed to repent and believe, without the regenerating influence of the Spirit. We inquire then, whether any sinner, any one of the human race, has actually repented and believed, without that influence. Whatever motives may have acted upon him, and whatever efforts he may have made in his natural state, has he ever done this? And has he power, in himself, which will prove to be sufficient in future time, so that he will, in any instance, actually obey the gospel, without any special divine influence? If now it is an obvious fact, that no sinner ever did, or ever will truly repent, without the renewing of the Holy Spirit, do we not find here what may be called a *principle* or *law* of our moral nature in our present fallen state? For what is a *law*, understood in this sense, but the invariable manner in which events take place, or in which effects are produced? The same may be applied to volitions. If we find what is the influence which motives have always had and now have upon them, or the uniform manner in which we put them forth, we find what is the law of the mind in regard to them.

Inquirer refers again to the fact which I had stated, "that good beings invariably have good affections in view of moral objects, and wicked beings invariably have wrong affections;" and he asks: "Does it then actually belong to the nature of free agency in a *state of probation*, to produce invariably one and only one set of emotions? Is there any example of such a uniformity in heaven or earth?"

It must, I think, be obvious to Inquirer, that the *nature* of moral agency, and every thing essential to it, is the same in a state of retribution as "in a state of probation." Doubtless the inhabitants of heaven are free moral agents as truly and completely, as men on earth. My position is, that a good being, that is, a being entirely good, invariably has right feelings, and a bad being invariably has wrong feelings, in view of moral objects. This, as I have said before, does not imply that a good being may not become bad, nor that a bad being may not become good. But when a good being has become bad, the position that a good being uniformly has right feelings, does not apply to him; for he is not a good being, though he was so once. And when a bad being has become good, the position that a bad being uniformly has wrong feelings, does not apply to him; as he is not now a bad being.

But I have nowhere said, that a moral agent has "uniformly and invariably, one and only one *set* of emotions." I maintain that we have many *sets* of emotions, a great variety of them; though they are all holy or unholy, according to the state of our minds.

Inquirer presses the question, whether there is, in heaven or earth, any example of the uniformity or invariableness of moral affections, which I have spoken of. Undoubtedly there is. The holy angels were once in a state of probation; and during that probation, their affections were invariably right. This is an example in heaven. Jesus, as a man, was in a state of trial while on earth; and his affections were uniformly right. This is an example on earth of the most exalted kind. And all who die impenitent, are examples of the opposite character. From the beginning to the end of their probation, their moral affections are evil, only evil, and that continually. Indeed, all men are examples of the uniformity spoken of, so long as they are unregenerate.

Inquirer cannot accede to the statement, that, because motives of some kind are necessary to volition, therefore volition is as much the subject of an active, efficient control, as the emotions and desires are. To *me* it is evident, that our being actuated and governed by motives from without and from within, is essential to our rational and accountable agency. No one, acting as a rational, moral agent, can will, or choose, or act, in any other way. And this is a circumstance, which clearly indicates the exalted nature of man, as a rational, accountable being. If this principle is rightly directed and applied, all is well. If it is misapplied, it carries ruin in its train.

Inquirer thinks, that I make "man a simple *passive recipient* in his affections and emotions." If *passive* is used to denote what is *not active*, it is far from expressing my opinion on this subject. I maintain that the mind *acts* as *really* and *powerfully*, in loving and hating and desiring, as in willing or choosing. Wax is a passive recipient of the impression made upon it. In *receiving* the impression, as we speak, it has no activity. It is an *inactive* subject of what is done by an active being. But it is not so with the mind. It is indeed the *subject* of an influence from without; but it is an *intelligent, active* subject. It is not properly a *recipient* of its affections, but an *agent* in them.

I had said, "volition depends as much on motives, as the passions and feelings on their appropriate exciting objects." Inquirer asks, whether it depends "on motives drawn from things

ab extra only?" I answer, by no means. It depends chiefly and ultimately on *inward* motives. Inquirer then says what deserves special notice: "Suppose that the soul from its own *nature, state or condition* wills or chooses this or that; is this to be put on par with desires necessarily and involuntarily excited in us by objects *without* the soul?" Let it be remembered, that the language in the closing part of the above quoted sentence, is not *my* language, and the thing implied in it is not according to my apprehension. But that which Inquirer suggests in the first part of the sentence, is, *in my* view, an important truth; namely, *that the soul wills or chooses from its own nature, state or condition*; in other words, that volitions or choices result from the nature, state, or condition of the soul. In this I agree with Inquirer. Whatever may be the motives presented from without, it is a well-known fact, that a man's inward disposition, or the character and state of his mind does in reality determine his choices, and his voluntary actions. And is not this equally true of the affections and desires? Do not the unholy affections of an unregenerate man, his enmity against God, and his desires after forbidden objects proceed from the state of his heart? If he had a sanctified heart, a holy state of mind, would not his affections be different? When Paul was brought, by the renewing of the Holy Spirit, into a state of communion with God; did not the character or condition of his soul give character to his emotions? Now if the fact that "the mind wills and chooses from its own nature, state or condition," makes our choices free, and makes us justly accountable for them; why does not the same fact concerning the affections and desires make *them* free, and make us justly accountable for them? That the affections do come from the state of the heart is made clear from the word of God, and from our own consciousness. Christ declares that "from within, out of the heart, proceed evil thoughts, covetousness, lasciviousness, an evil eye and pride," as well as "adulteries, murders, thefts and blasphemies." The former are emotions, affections and desires, as evidently as the last are volitions or voluntary actions. And they all proceed alike from the heart, and from the heart in its depraved state. This Inquirer holds, so far as relates to volitions. But the affections and desires he regards as *necessary*, and on this account he thinks we are not accountable for them. And yet there is no more necessity in respect to the affections, than in respect to the volitions. For as Inquirer suggests, "the soul

wills and *chooses* from its own nature, state or condition." And this is what I maintain in regard to the affections. They proceed "from the nature, state and condition of the soul." They proceed out of the heart. And it is this circumstance which seems to lead Inquirer, and many others, to think that they are not morally good or evil, praiseworthy or blameworthy. The emotions and desires arise in the mind, they say, by *necessity*; and by a necessity which precludes freedom and accountability. But our volitions and choices take place by the same necessity; that is, they proceed "from the nature, state and condition of the soul." So Inquirer thinks. How, then, I would ask him, can we be accountable for them? And if not accountable either for our volitions, or our affections, how can we be accountable for any thing?

Inquirer says: "If God has made *free agents*, has he not given them the power of choice, after all the motives which the nature of the case admits, are placed before them." Certainly we have such a power; and we exercise it every day. But in what way? Let Inquirer tell how *he* exercises this power of choice. In all his more important and deliberate choices, does he not carefully weigh the motives or reasons which come before him, and then decide in accordance with those which appear to him the strongest? And does he not feel that he is a free and accountable agent when he uses his power of choice in this way? In cases where our power of choosing has its most free and perfect exercise, do we ever choose in any other way? And if at any time we will and act suddenly, without deliberation, and from the impulse of some strongly excited passion; is not this very impulse of passion the motive which governs us? I predict that Inquirer, and all other men, in the free exercise of the power of choice, will, in all future time, determine, will, or choose, either according to what appear to them the strongest reasons, after deliberation, or under the influence of some strongly excited affection or passion, which leaves them no time for deliberation. How, in any case, the governing motives come to be so, is a very interesting question. But this is not the place to consider it.

At page 466, Inquirer speaks thus: "Dr. Woods will see, on looking over page 191, that he has made a singularly incorrect statement of the orthodox doctrine respecting the influence of Adam's sin. As the words now stand, they represent the orthodox as maintaining, that native depravity and all our sinful

actions and volitions, which are the invariable consequence of Adam's sin, are *fatalism*, entirely precluding free, accountable agency." One and another have said to me: *How could Inquirer make such a mistake?* I ascribe it not to any intention of his to misrepresent, but to his hasty attention to the paragraph referred to. In the closing part of my remarks on cause and effect, it was my object to point out the consequences of adopting the theory of the Essay. This object was pursued in the passage referred to by Inquirer, which any one may read for himself, p. 191. First, I state the orthodox doctrine as to the invariable connection between Adam's sin and the sinful volitions and actions of his posterity. Having done this, I turn to the Essay, which maintains, that such an invariable connection of antecedent and consequent proves the existence of such a "producing cause," as "excludes free agency." I then show what must follow from the theory of the Essay; namely, either that the orthodox doctrine on this subject is true, and so, *according to the theory of the Essay*, that our depravity and all our sinful volitions and actions, being the invariable consequence of Adam's sin, are matters of fatalism, entirely precluding free, accountable agency; or else that there is no such connection, and that the orthodox doctrine is false. Thus, what I expressly represent as a consequence of the theory which I oppose, Inquirer thinks I represent as the doctrine of the orthodox.

After closing his remarks very candidly and kindly, Inquirer returns to the general subject in a postscript, and advances some things, to which he doubtless expects me to reply. He says: "Dr. Woods makes us mere *passive recipients* in all our passions and desires." But these are *his* words, not mine. I always avoid them, because they are ambiguous. To the word *passive*, as explained by Edwards and Day, and as generally used by the older divines, I have no objection. A man is *passive* in this sense of the word, when he is the subject of an influence from another, or is acted upon by another, *how active soever he himself may be*. Thus a man is said to be both passive and active in his repentance and obedience. He is the *subject* of the divine influence, or is *acted upon* by the Spirit; and he himself *acts*, that is, repents and obeys, in consequence of that influence. God works in believers, and, in consequence, *they* work. But Inquirer doubtless uses the word *passive* as opposite to *active*, and *recipient* as opposite to *agent*. Now, as every reader will see, I have taken great pains to show that, in this

very matter, we are, in the proper sense, *agents*; that in our affections and desires we are truly *active*; and that these mental actions are of as high an order, at least, as our volitions. I everywhere oppose the idea, that, because our affections and desires are exercised spontaneously in view of appropriate objects, and are not controlled by a previous act of the will, we are therefore not free and active in them, or accountable for them. I hold that we are free, specially free in these mental acts,—free, certainly, in as high a sense as in those external acts which are completely dictated and controlled by a volition.

Inquirer asks, "how the command to love God and our neighbor is to be obeyed, and what is the nature of the obligation which lies on the sinner to exchange his enmity for love." According to the scheme which he seems to adopt, I should find it impossible to make any reply. For if the affections are not a part of our moral agency, for which we are justly responsible, I see not how they can be commanded, or what obligation can lie upon us to exercise them. But according to the view which I have taken of the matter, it is easy to say something in the way of reply. Love and hatred, and all the affections and emotions which we exercise in view of moral objects, are free, unforced, moral acts, for which we are justly accountable. God addresses his law to us as active, moral beings, and requires us to love him, and forbids our enmity. This command is right. For there is nothing more certain, than that we ought to love and obey such a being as God, and that we are blameworthy and inexcusable for hating him. But if we take the other view of the subject, the view of those who hold that our affections and emotions are not moral acts, how can we dispose of the difficulty? How can we vindicate the law for requiring, as the sum of obedience, that we should exercise the affection of love, in which we are not moral agents, and for which we cannot be responsible? Inquirer speaks of this as "a dark, dark place," and wishes light to be scattered upon it. It would be very dark to me, if I should adopt the theory of my opponents. But, if I mistake not, the subject is illuminated by a light which is sufficiently clear; nothing is necessary, but that we open our eyes to behold it. It is true at least, that we may know all which is of practical use. That we are intelligent, active, accountable beings, is an ultimate fact. Nothing can be adduced to prove it, because nothing is more plain and certain. The sacred writers never say a word to prove it, but always assume it as a well

known fact. And they seem never to have imagined, that any one would deny or doubt it. God has made us moral, accountable beings, and has determined that we shall be so forever. So that our moral, accountable agency is certain and unalterable. Whatever the laws of the mind are ; in whatever way our affections and desires are excited ; under whatever influence our volitions are produced ; and whatever may be found to be true in any other respect ; the certainty of our moral, accountable agency is not for a moment to be questioned, our speculative reasonings cannot affect it. It is not a subject of reasoning, but of consciousness. Treat it as a subject of speculative reasoning, and you involve it in darkness. But treat it as a fact of consciousness, and all is clear. I have said it is an *ultimate* fact. And we cannot go beyond what is *ultimate*. We cannot reach farther than this, either on the right hand, or on the left. We cannot ascend to a greater height, or go down to a lower depth. This fact bounds our knowledge ; except that we may look up, and see and adore the only wise God who created us. His work is perfect, and cannot be mended. With respect both to body and mind, we are fearfully and wonderfully made. As to the mode of teaching the nature and relations of man, his duty, his sin and ill-desert, and the way of recovery to holiness and happiness, we have the instructions and the example of those who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. It is safe to follow their guidance. It is not safe to follow any other. The inspired teachers are infallible. All others are fallible.

One thing more. Let us not be forward to introduce questions on the great subjects of religion, which the word of God will not help us to answer, and which must therefore gender doubt and strife. When Inquirer asks *how* this and that can be ; who can answer ? And if I should ask *him*, in reference to one or another of his principles, *how* it can be ; could he give an answer ? The best and only safeguard against an unsettled, skeptical state of mind, is, to avoid the habit of dwelling upon the speculative difficulties which hang about every important subject ; to adhere closely and reverently to the word of God ; to feed upon its precious truths, and to live in obedience to its precepts ; and finally, to cherish a constant, lively sense of our weakness and danger, and a cordial reliance upon the teaching of the Holy Spirit.

I must now close. I hope I shall not be severely blamed,

either for writing so much, or for not writing more. I have not indeed remarked on every particular point suggested by Inquirer. But I have not passed over any thing which I supposed would be deemed important. And I have not passed over any thing, because I thought it difficult to give an answer. Nor have I done it, because I am reluctant to tell what I think. I have frankly and unreservedly disclosed my views, and my mode of reasoning on every subject which has come under consideration; and I am willing to do so on every other subject; so that what is right may be approved, and that what is wrong may be corrected. Let those who differ from me do the same. Let us all unite in avoiding concealment, and equivocation, and every degree of undue confidence in ourselves, and of uncandid or unkind feeling towards others; endeavoring to join soundness of doctrine with the spirit of forbearance and love, and always remembering that bitterness of feeling, or the want of sincere brotherly kindness, towards any of the ministers or disciples of Christ, is one of the worst of errors.

On the whole, I cannot but wish, that I had been able to think and write in a manner more worthy of the subjects which have been brought before me, and more adapted to advance the cause of truth. Still it has been my aim to do that, and only that, which will accord with the word of God, and, both in asking and answering questions, to keep in mind the all-revealing day. I hope that Inquirer will look with favor, if not with entire satisfaction, upon what I have done. For whatever my defects, or my errors in this performance may be, I have endeavored to speak the truth in love. My correspondence with my unknown friend, though not of my proposing, has been of the most pleasant kind. I thank him for the respect and candor which are apparent in his inquiries, and for his patience in waiting so long for the completion of my answer. What he and I have written is now before the public. The Lord grant, that it may so work in with the thoughts and reasonings of others, as in the end to contribute something towards illustrating and confirming the theory of divine truth.

LEONARD WOODS.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
Andover, Nov. 20, 1841.

ARTICLE VI.

REVIEW OF QUINCY'S HISTORY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

By one of the Professors of Yale College.

The History of Harvard University, by Josiah Quincy, LL. D., President of the University. In two volumes. Cambridge: John Owen. 1840.

[*Concluded from Vol. VI. p. 403.**]

FROM the unfavorable view given by President Quincy of the conduct of Governor Saltonstall, we felt some curiosity to see what representation was made of certain transactions relating to another Connecticut governor, in which, if there was any thing of questionable correctness, all the blame, we suppose, does not attach to any individual or any institution, either in the colony of Connecticut or of New Haven. We refer to the proceedings under Governor Hopkins's will. Edward Hopkins is reckoned in this work among the principal early benefactors of Harvard College. His "noble beneficence," says President Quincy, "stands in bold relief; exceeded by that of none of his contemporaries in original value, Sir Matthew Holworthy and William Stoughton, alone excepted; and, at the present day, greatly surpassing those of both, in amount and efficiency."† How this bequest was made, the author has given no very particular and distinct account. Neither the will at large, nor any extract from it, is to be found in these volumes. We are told, however, that Governor Hopkins's will "is an interesting monument of private friendship and public spirit; and justifies the universal language of his contemporaries, who, in eulogizing his character, never fail to celebrate his possession of those

* The following *Errata* have occurred in the previous sections of this Review. Vol. VI. p. 182, l. 32, for "1649" read "1648"—p. 191, l. 8, for "holydays" read "on days preceding the holydays"—p. 387, l. 11, for "them?" read "them."

† Vol. I. p. 168.

qualities, which make a man beloved. Then follows the following abstract. "To numerous friends and domestics he bequeathed legacies, amounting to four thousand pounds sterling; to institutions in Connecticut, for the promotion of religion, science, or charity, one thousand pounds sterling. For the advancement of the same noble objects in Massachusetts, the bequest of five hundred pounds, vested in trustees, was destined to find its sphere of usefulness in Harvard College, or its vicinity. After an unceasing flow of annual benefits for more than a century, his bounty now exists on a foundation of productive and well-secured capital, amounting nearly to thirty thousand dollars."* It appears afterwards,† that this "legacy" was not readily paid, but was obtained by a decree in chancery, in March 1712-13, amounting to eight hundred pounds sterling; interest for a certain time having been allowed. A letter of the trustees of this legacy, to Lord Chancellor Harcourt, appears in the appendix of the first volume,‡ in which, says President Quincy, their "gratitude is expressed in very lively terms." There is likewise credited 1658, "Edward Hopkins, of Hartford, a legacy payable in corn and meal, one hundred pounds."§

This account of what is justly called the "noble beneficence" of Governor Hopkins, we cannot but think in some respects erroneous, and in others defective. That the few corrections, which we have to apply, may be more intelligible, we shall first exhibit the leading facts of this case, according as they appear in the documents to which we have access.

Edward Hopkins was a London merchant, and came to New England in 1637, with Theophilus Eaton, the Rev. John Davenport, and their associates. After a residence of some months in Massachusetts, Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport founded a new colony at the West, to which they afterwards gave the name of New Haven; and Mr. Hopkins established himself at Hartford in the colony of Connecticut, where, from 1640 to 1654, he was elected governor every other year. Mr. Eaton was elected Governor of New Haven every year, from the founding of the colony to the time of his death. Between Governor Eaton and Governor Hopkins, there was a near family alliance; the latter having married Anne Yale,|| a step-daughter of the former.

* Vol. I. p. 170. † Ibid. p. 205. ‡ Ibid. p. 521.

§ Ibid. p. 507.

|| Governor Yale, from whom Yale College takes its name, was a nephew of Anne Yale.

Governor Hopkins was likewise a strong personal friend of Mr. Davenport, with whom he maintained, during his residence in Connecticut, a frequent and confidential intercourse. Somewhere about the year 1652, the precise time we have not ascertained, Governor Hopkins went to England, to settle the estate of a deceased brother. That he was expected to return soon, is evident from the fact, that he was once elected governor of Connecticut, after his departure. A short time only after his arrival in England, he was returned a member of Parliament, and was employed by Cromwell in several important public trusts.

It had been, from the first, a favorite object with Mr. Davenport, of which Governor Hopkins must have been fully apprised, to establish a college in New Haven; and within two or three years after Governor Hopkins left the country, the legislature of this colony voted to found such an institution, and appropriated certain lands for its encouragement and support. Upon this, Mr. Davenport wrote to Governor Hopkins what had been done; and aware without doubt of his intentions, if such an institution should be begun, solicited his patronage of the new seminary. To the communication of Mr. Davenport Governor Hopkins replied, in a letter dated April 30th, 1656: "That which the Lord hath given me in those parts [New England], I ever designed the greatest part of it, for the furtherance of the work of Christ in those ends of the earth; and if I understand that a college is begun and likely to be carried on in New Haven, for the good of posterity, I shall give some encouragement thereunto."

Intercourse with England, at this time, was at long intervals; and before there was opportunity for another communication from Mr. Davenport, Governor Hopkins died. His death took place in London, March, 1637. On the 7th of the same month, he had made a will, with all the requisite formalities. In this instrument, after ordering various legacies to be paid out of his estate in New England, to his friends in Connecticut, he adds: "And the residue of my estate there, I do hereby give and bequeath to my father, Theophilus Eaton, Esq., Mr. John Davenport, Mr. John Cullick, and Mr. William Goodwin, in full assurance of their trust and faithfulness in disposing of it, according to the true intent and purpose of me the said Edward Hopkins, which is, to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations, for the breeding up of hopeful youth, both in the grammar school and college, for the public service of the coun-

try in future times." In disposing of his estate in England, or as he expresses himself, "this England," he first makes provision for his "dear distressed wife," she being in a state of hopeless mental derangement, leaving her in the care of her brother, David Yale. Afterwards, among other numerous bequests, he makes this: "My farther mind and will is, that within six months after the decease of my wife, *five hundred pounds be made over into New England*, according to the advice of my loving friends, Major Robert Tomson and Mr. Francis Willoughby, and conveyed into the hands of the trustees before mentioned, in further prosecution of the aforesaid public ends, which, in the simplicity of my heart, are for the upholding and promoting the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ in those parts of the earth."*

The trustees under the will immediately set about disposing of that part of the estate, which was in New England; and after paying the various legacies, they at one time supposed that there would be a residue of one thousand pounds. Difficulties, however, occurred in selling lands and in collecting debts; so that a considerable deduction must be made from this sum, in estimating the amount of the final receipts. From the proceeds of the estate, they established a grammar school in New Haven, which was considered a part of the college already instituted there, as before mentioned, a grammar school in Hartford, and another in Hadley, Massachusetts. Besides making these appropriations, they gave one hundred pounds for the benefit of Harvard College.

Anne Hopkins, the widow of Governor Hopkins, died the tenth of December, 1699;† having outlived nearly thirty years all the trustees under the will. John Davenport, the last surviving trustee, died in 1670. But before the death of all the original trustees, a new board was instituted by the survivors, and authorized to receive all dues from the estate, particularly the five hundred pounds payable six months after the death of the widow. Every thing else was done, which was thought necessary in "disposing" of the bequests of Governor Hopkins.

* These extracts are taken from an attested copy of the will, remaining among the Hopkins papers in New-Haven.

† Several dates which we have adopted differ somewhat from the corresponding dates in President Quincy's History, and Mr. Savage's Notes on Winthrop's Journal; but after comparison, we have preferred to follow the authorities before us.

These arrangements were supposed to be legal ; and their legality has never been questioned in Connecticut.

On hearing of the death of Anne Hopkins, the trustees in New Haven took some measures to procure the five hundred pounds, to which they supposed themselves to have an undoubted claim. But in the mean time, Henry Dally, the executor and residuary legatee of Governor Hopkins had died, and his executor and the heirs at law alleged, that "after all the just allowances made, there were not assets sufficient to pay the five hundred pounds, etc." The new trustees seem to have been afraid to engage in a chancery suit, as they must have been at considerable expense, and the prospect of success was doubtful ; and instead of taking prompt measures to ascertain the real state of their claim, suffered the time to pass in useless deliberation. In this state of things, in Michaelmas term, 1708, an information was filed by the attorney general in behalf of the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, against the executor of Dally and others ; as this society had been induced to make an attempt to obtain Governor Hopkins's bequest of five hundred pounds for themselves. The news of this movement probably reached Cambridge in the course of a few months ; as we are told by President Quincy, that "in June 1709, the corporation took measures to secure the legacy of Edward Hopkins."* He adds : "More than forty years had elapsed since the death of this benefactor, and his heirs interposed obstacles, which rendered the pursuit of the claim of the college troublesome and expensive, and final success dubious. Not deterred by these difficulties, the corporation appointed Henry Newman, of London, their agent, and remitted forty pounds sterling for the prosecution of their rights."

Mr. Newman was evidently an active and faithful agent ; as, on the 9th of the following July, the cause came to a hearing ; and reference was made to a master in chancery, without doubt at Mr. Newman's instance, "to take an account of the assets of the said Edward Hopkins's estate, liable to the said five hundred pounds, etc. ;" "and in case the said five hundred pounds should be recovered, it was ordered and decreed, that the same should be paid and applied to the school or college in New England for the breeding up of scholars there in the study of divinity, according to the will of the said Edward Hopkins, and in order

thereto, the master was to examine witnesses, or write to New England, to be informed, whether there was such school or college there; and if not, then what other school or college was there, and on what purposes founded, and to state to this court how he finds the same." On the 10th of February, 1710—11, the master reported, that there were sufficient assets to pay the legacy, and "that there was about sixty or seventy years ago, and now is, a school and college at Cambridge in New England, and called Harvard College, and that about ten years since, there was, and is, a small building made contiguous to the same, and called Stoughton College." On the 7th of March following, his lordship, the Lord-Keeper Harcourt, decreed, that the five hundred pounds, with interest from June 10th, 1700, to this date, being six months from the death of Anne Hopkins, should be "laid out in a purchase of lands in New England in the name of the corporation for the propagation of the gospel, but the trust is to be declared in the deeds to be for the benefit of the college and grammar school at Cambridge in New England."

Of these proceedings no notice from any quarter appears to have been given to the Connecticut claimants. But in October, 1711, that is, about seven months after the decree of the lord chancellor just quoted, they had probably somehow received the news of what had been done and was doing; as at that time the trustees sent a "letter of attorney" to Jeremiah Dummer, Esq., authorizing him to look after their claim to Governor Hopkins's legacy. There appears to have been from the first a great lack of promptness and efficiency on the part of these functionaries; and whether any thing was attempted by the new agent, we know not. We can find no record on the subject. The probability is, and this has been the tradition, that the appointment of an agent was, as respects these New Haven trustees, the last of the matter.

The trustees in Massachusetts of Governor Hopkins's legacy, as it was called, in a letter of thanks to the lord chancellor, on receiving his decree, say, among other things: "It is our duty to acquaint your lordship, that the said decree is come to our hands; but we hold it to be more so, to admire and acknowledge your lordship's great justice and wisdom, which shine through every intermediate order thereupon, and most illustriously so in the final decree. Your lordship's own great acquirements are a bright evidence of your good affection for learning; and

the injunctions and directions your lordship has given for the application and disposing of the charity, bespeak your great wisdom in the advancement of it. It is by this, as much as by your justice, you have given a more lively countenance than ever it had, to the first, and, for a long time, only seminary of good letters in these His Majesty's remote dominions." We suppose that the "intermediate order," in which his lordship's "great justice and wisdom" were thought to be especially manifest, was that in which the master was directed simply to write to New England and to examine witnesses, to ascertain whether there was a college there which would answer the language of the will;—an order clogged with no troublesome condition, that if such college should be found, it should be required to show, that it was the institution intended by the testator. Great as his lordship's wisdom undoubtedly was, we think he must have been a little puzzled to discover the grounds of the compliments paid him, since the question on the will, as presented, must have appeared to him very much like an every day affair. There are, undoubtedly, other facts connected with this case, which have not come to our knowledge; but none, we believe, which, if stated, would essentially vary or modify the account now given.

We are not about to review the decision of the Lord Chancellor. It is admitted, that his decree may be right under the limitations with which the case was presented, and with the evidence before him. A few remarks, however, will be added, suggested by a comparison of our own statement of facts with that of President Quincy. According to his representation, as quoted above, Governor Hopkins gave "to institutions in Connecticut, for the promotion of religion, science or charity, one thousand pounds sterling;" but we do not find in the will any mention of Connecticut whatever. We there read, that the residue of the estate is given and bequeathed to four trustees. It is vested in them, and to be by them disposed of according to the "true intent and purpose" of the testator. In fact, of this sum of one thousand pounds sterling, or somewhat less, about one half was expended in Massachusetts; one third, we suppose, in establishing the school at Hadley, and one hundred pounds was given by the trustees to Harvard College.*

* This we suppose is the one hundred mentioned above, credited as a legacy from Edward Hopkins.

It is likewise said by President Quincy, for "the advancement of the same noble objects in Massachusetts," the sum of five hundred pounds was given; but we find in the will, as little respecting Massachusetts as respecting Connecticut. The direction of the will is, that "five hundred pounds be made over into New England," "and conveyed into the hands of the trustees before mentioned, in further prosecution of the aforesaid public ends." If this sum of five hundred pounds was intended for Massachusetts, then, why was not the sum of one thousand pounds intended for Massachusetts also; since both were vested in the same trustees, and to be applied by them to the same "public ends?" and the trustees, therefore, by establishing grammar schools, as they did, in Connecticut, fell into a very grievous error. But if these legacies were intended for Massachusetts, it is difficult to be accounted for, that Governor Hopkins should have named all his trustees among his most intimate friends in New Haven and Hartford, and not a part of them at least in Boston or Cambridge; so that the interests of the college, the principal object of his beneficence, might be properly looked after. Governor Hopkins must have been aware, especially after his correspondence with Mr. Davenport, that the trustees named, being all in New-Haven and Hartford, would understand the will, just as they in fact understood it. If the testator intended, that a part of his bequest should be given to a college in New Haven, but that the trustees should have power to bestow a part of it also on other institutions, if they saw fit so to do, his selection of trustees is not so much to be wondered at; but if he intended that Harvard College should be the principal object of his bounty, the selection of trustees, such as it is, without any mention of that college, is wholly unaccountable. If the trustees had all been named in Boston and Cambridge, and the language of the will in other respects had been the same as it is, would any part of the bequest ever have come to Connecticut? The trustees of the legacy in Massachusetts, in their letter to Lord Chancellor Harcourt, speak of "Mr. Edward Hopkins's charity-legacy to *the* school and college in New England," as if much depended on the use, in the will, of the *definite article*; when it is very evident that the form of expression there used, was not adopted for the purpose of designating a particular grammar school, or a particular college, but to distinguish the grammar school and college from other schools and other places of instruction. But if the trus-

tees are correct, then the whole of both bequests belonged to Harvard College, and the grammar school in Cambridge; and this, with the inexplicable appointment of trustees, as mentioned above, solely in Connecticut and New Haven. We would ask, in conclusion, whether the interpretation of Governor Hopkins's language, by trustees appointed by himself, considering the relation in which they stood to him, and their known character for honesty and integrity, ought not to be considered as evidence amounting to all but proof, of what was the testator's "true intent and purpose?"

Such are some of the reasons which favor the original construction of the will, and which without question would have prevailed in determining the disposition of the five hundred pounds, had the death of the widow preceded the death of the first trustees. Without deciding any thing on this point, we think that we are warranted in saying, that President Quincy, by using the words "beneficence" and "bequest" in such connections as he has done, will leave most readers to infer, that Governor Hopkins had the intention to make a direct donation to Harvard College, which does not appear from the will, or, as we believe, from any other source. His place of residence, family alliance, personal friendships, and his letter to Mr. Davenport, give to this subject a very different aspect. Mr. Savage, in his *Notes on Winthrop's Journal*,* says, in strict accordance with the fact, that "Harvard College has enjoyed Governor Hopkins's legacy jointly with the grammar school in Cambridge, since 1714." If President Quincy had employed the same form of statement, we should have considered it wholly unnecessary to enter on this detail. It may be said, that in one instance the author, in speaking of this bequest, has used language entirely correct; where he says, that the "five hundred pounds vested in trustees, was destined to find its sphere of usefulness in Harvard College or the vicinity." This is true; but to most readers, without explanations, which the author has not made, this sentence, though undoubtedly introduced to meet the point we have insisted on, must appear very obscure, or rather enigmatical. With the long ellipses supplied, this passage will read as follows;—the parts understood being printed in *italics*. "Five hundred pounds vested in trustees in *New Haven and Connecticut, and to be by them disposed of*, was destined, *through a course of events never contemplated by the testa-*

* Vol. I. p. 230.

tor, to be put into the hands of trustees in Massachusetts, and to find its sphere of usefulness in Harvard College and the vicinity." This is a concise, but, as we believe, a true account of the final disposition of this legacy. From the representation in this history, the Hopkins fund at Cambridge has been very well managed; since, notwithstanding the expensive lawsuits, in which the trustees have been involved with the people of Hopkinton, in which township the money received was at first invested, the fund, as before stated, now amounts to nearly thirty thousand dollars; and we add with pleasure, that we have never heard an intimation, that this benefaction has not been faithfully applied, as the Puritan Governor of Connecticut "in the simplicity of his heart" directed.

We should feel that great injustice had been done us, if any one should infer from what has now been said, that we are at all disturbed, or indulge in any repining, at the direction which was given to any portion of the bequests of Governor Hopkins. So far is this from being true, that we could assign numerous substantial reasons, why we are especially satisfied with the destination of that part of them, which came into the possession of Harvard College. One will be sufficient. Among the causes which have operated to make Connecticut what it has been, and is, none was more efficient, through a large portion of the first century after its colonization, than Harvard College. It was this early seminary, which kept alive the lamp of knowledge lighted by the first emigrants, and gave such a form and consistence to the institutions of this new commonwealth, that the benefits which flowed from this literary fountain must be experienced for ages to come. It was this seminary, that enabled the people of Connecticut to deserve the high eulogy in the report of the commissioners of Charles II. in 1665, that they had "a scholar to their minister in every town or village." But it was not merely in furnishing a well informed clergy, that the influence of Harvard College was felt in Connecticut. Many of the principal magistrates, instructors of youth, and private citizens whose influence extended in various ways to every class of the community, came furnished to act their several parts from the same institution. Nor should it be forgotten, that Yale College owes its existence entirely to the sons of Harvard. If Harvard College had not been established, Yale College would never have had a being. Not but that some institution for instruction in the liberal arts would, after a course of years, have arisen in Connecticut; but it would have been under very

different auspices, and with quite another class of effects. In view of these facts, it cannot but afford high satisfaction to every individual of Connecticut capable of forming a just opinion on this subject, that such decisive proof exists of the estimation in which Harvard College was held in this community by the first planters of Connecticut, and several succeeding generations. Their sense of its value is manifest in the small voluntary contributions of towns, while the institution was in its infancy ; and, for the time, liberal donations of individuals. Not that we would represent the assistance early afforded to Harvard College from Connecticut, as a compensation for the benefits received, for we do not suppose that such good is to be estimated in pounds sterling ; but reference is made more particularly to the proof which exists of the early regard for literature in the two colonies, when there stand conspicuous among the early patrons of Harvard, Governor Eaton of the colony of New Haven, Governor Hopkins of the colony of Connecticut,—and with the explanations made there is no objection to his being styled a patron,—and Governor Saltonstall of Connecticut after the two original colonies were united. Every thing else was in accordance with the spirit and conduct of these distinguished men ; and as to hostility to Harvard College, or indifference to its interests, no evidence has been, nor, do we suppose, can be, produced.*

Connecticut, in many respects and for a long period, might be considered a part of Massachusetts. Its institutions were similar ; the character of the inhabitants showed little diversity ; the same great objects were pursued ; there was the same love of liberty, and the same zeal for the promotion of religion, morals and literature. If there had been some little promineny given in this work to the former relation in which these two colonies stood towards each other, more particularly as illustrated in the case of Harvard College, the author would have done, in our opinion, no more than historical justice. It should be remembered here, that Yale College, so far as we have heard, never laid claim to any portion of the bequests of Governor Hopkins ; and there was no obvious ground for its so doing.

* Governor Eaton is credited forty pounds in 1642. Vol. II. p. 458. He is mentioned, however, only as Theophilus Eaton ; and few from this entry would know where he resided, could infer his rank and character, and the importance of his patronage to the new institution.

It is well known that Whitefield in his first visit to New England, in 1740, expressed very unfavorable opinions of the colleges. "As for the universities," says he, "I believe it may be said, that their light has become darkness; darkness that may be felt, and is complained of by the most godly ministers." Yale College is here denounced as well as Harvard. These colleges, indeed, were, at that time, the only institutions of the kind in full operation in British America. William and Mary College in Virginia, was chartered a very short time before Yale College; but no degrees, it is believed, were conferred there till after 1750. Whitefield likewise refers to Harvard College separately. His language is: "The chief college in New England has one president, four tutors, and about a hundred students. It is scarce as big as one of our least colleges in Oxford, and, as far as I could gather from some, who well knew the state of it, not far superior in piety and true godliness."

Here President Quincy goes into some detail of the efforts which were made at Cambridge, to show that these representations of the religious and moral state of Harvard College were erroneous. He says, that in 1744, "the president, professors, tutors and instructors deemed themselves compelled to come forward in defence of the institution, and to publish, in December of that year, their 'Testimony against the Reverend George Whitefield and his Conduct;' denouncing him as 'an enthusiast, a censorious, uncharitable person, and a deluder of the people,' and stating at large the reasons of their denunciation. The reproachful reflections Whitefield had cast upon the college, they pronounced 'rash and arrogant,' and his representation of the 'deplorable state of immorality' in the seminary as 'a most wicked and libelous falsehood;' 'uncharitable,' 'censorious,' and 'slandrous.'" A separate pamphlet was subsequently published against Whitefield by Professor Wigglesworth; and President Quincy has furnished some extracts from the manuscript diary of Henry Flynt, a tutor of the college, giving his opinion of Whitefield at the time of his first appearance at Cambridge; with which opinion, in many respects unfavorable, the author believes it probable, those of "the immediate government of the college were in unison." In his further account of the events of that period, President Quincy seems to suppose, that "the most zealous of the Calvinistic sect," the advocates of "high Calvinism," were the chief friends and patrons of Whitefield, and that opposition to Whitefield was active, just in pro-

portion as Calvinistic principles were modified or discarded. He says: "In Boston and its vicinity, and along the seaboard of Massachusetts, clergymen of great talent and religious zeal openly avowed doctrines, which were variously denounced by the Calvinistic party as Arminianism, Arianism, Pelagianism, Socinianism and Deism. The most eminent of these clergymen, were alumni of Harvard, active friends and advocates of the institution, and in habits of intimacy and professional intercourse with its governors;" but it is said, that "their religious views received no public countenance from the college." These were the opponents of Whitefield, and the strict Calvinists were his advocates. That this picture may not want its finishing touch, it is said, that "at this period the high Calvinistic doctrines prevailed throughout New England, but chiefly predominated in the interior of Massachusetts, and in the colony of Connecticut."* The reader is left to infer, that as "high Calvinistic doctrines predominated in Connecticut," the progress of Whitefield was there unresisted and irresistible.

It is not our object in these remarks to determine whether Calvinism or anti-Calvinism is right; nor is it the question, whether the supporters and opponents of Whitefield were universally, the one Calvinists and the other anti-Calvinists. If it were, we should have something to object to the statements in this work. Our only inquiry here will be, assuming President Quincy's representation as correct,—that the stricter Calvinists were the advocates of Whitefield, and that "high Calvinistic doctrines predominated in Connecticut,"—whether this theory corresponds with the facts. This is the point to which we will direct our attention. Is it true, then, that Whitefield was a general favorite in Connecticut?

The Association of the county of New-Haven assembled in New-Haven, February 19th, 1744-5, and issued a "Declaration concerning the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, his conduct, and the state of Religion at this day." We can give but a few extracts from this official paper. The Association say: "We can in no wise approve of his *Itinerancy*, in going from country to country, from town to town, and from one place to another, under a pretence of preaching the gospel." After explaining themselves more fully on this subject, and declaring against "the itinerant and strolling way of proceeding, *by reason of which the way of truth is evil spoken of*," they say under their second

head : " We account the said Mr. Whitefield hath been a publisher of false doctrines, in sundry articles," and undertake to confirm this position by particulars. In the third place, they say : " We think him guilty of uncharitable censoriousness, and slanderous reproaching, in the vile aspersions, bitter reflections, and condemnatory censures he hath passed upon the main body of the ministry in this land, though the most of them he was a perfect stranger to, and of most of them it may be boldly said, that they are sound in the faith, and of blameless conversation, and his superiors both in age and abilities." They refer to Whitefield's remarks upon " Archbishop Tillotson, to whose name the venerable Dr. Increase Mather hath affixed the epithets of Great and Good," and add : " Yet a raw and unstudied young man starts up and assaults the character of the great and good archbishop in more opprobrious language, than that which the wicked children used toward the prophet, *Go up thou bald head* ; for he hath had the front to say, and print, *that the archbishop knew no more of Christianity than Mahomet* ; which we think is very injurious, though we agree not in all points with the archbishop. Bold and daring youth ! *Go, tarry at Jericho, until thy beard be grown.*"

They allude to Whitefield's censure of the colleges. " And upon our colleges, our beauty and our glory, which have been, are, and we pray that they may be, and hope that they will be, even to the latest posterity, great and rich blessings ; but Mr. Whitefield hath said of them, that *their light is become darkness, even darkness that may be felt*. We are astonished at the impudence of the man, and that he dare so closely imitate the accuser of the brethren."

The Association go on to say, that Whitefield " appears to us to be justly accused of uncommon pride, arrogance and vanity of mind," and speak of him as " a great enthusiast, in being led by impulses and impressions, and construing his little feelings, or the sudden workings of his own mind, and his dreams, to be the suggestions of the Holy Spirit, without any good Scripture ground so to do." They add in another place : " Nor can we forbear to enumerate some of the evils and mischiefs, which have followed his conduct." " The ministry is cast into much contempt, and their usefulness greatly clogged and obstructed ; the minds of people in matters of religion are strangely unhinged and fluctuating—inso much that many know not what to think or where to fix, and are tempted to suspect all revealed religion to be a mere flam and nullity. Antinomian principles are ad-

vanced, preached up, and printed ; Christian brethren have their affections widely alienated ; unchristian censoriousness and hard judging abound, love stands afar off, and charity cannot enter." "Numbers of illiterate exhorters swarm about, as locusts from the bottomless pit." After more in the same style, they declare : "For all which reasons, and others that might be mentioned, it is our judgment that the said George Whitefield should not be allowed to preach anywhere, or to have communion ; and we do hereby publish and declare, that it is our purpose and determination, that we will not admit the said Mr. Whitefield into any of our pulpits, nor receive him to communion in any of our churches ; and that we will caution the people under our charge against going to hear him anywhere, till he hold forth repentance according to gospel rule, and *bring forth fruit meet for repentance.*"

We invite the particular attention of the reader to the following extract, in which he will see the Association of New Haven county administering solemn reproof to the liberal Dr. Colman, to Dr. Sewall, Mr. Webb, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Gee, and other friends and supporters of Whitefield among the clergy of Boston. "It hath truly been matter of grief to us, that so many of the ministers of Boston did caress, applaud and follow the said Mr. Whitefield, and even bowed before him, at his first coming into the country, which we conceive hath had an unkind influence, and set the things of a bad and dangerous tendency a going ; and it is still more grievous to us, that so many ministers in Boston appear so attached to him since his return, after the effects of his former visit are so manifest and glaring ; nor do we see reason to dissent from the Rev. Mr. Nathaniel Eells, whose words in his printed letter are these : '*I verily believe, that God in judgment, and not in mercy to his people, hath sent him again into this country.*'"

We shall make but one more extract. The Association say : "We gladly improve this opportunity to send our public thanks to the Reverend and Honorable gentlemen of Harvard College, the Reverend associations and particular ministers, who have appeared so valiant for the truth, against the errors, enthusiasm and encroaching evils of the present day."* This declaration was signed by all the clergy of the county, with the exception of, we believe, two, one of whom was the Rev. Philemon Rob-

* This "Declaration" was written by the Rev. Isaac Stiles, of North Haven, the father of President Stiles.

bins, of Branford; who, as it happens, was a graduate of Harvard.

Six days only after the Association had taken this decisive step, that is, February 25th, 1744—5, the rector and tutors of Yale College also issued their "Declaration against the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, his principles and designs," in which they reiterate most of the same charges, though in language a little more qualified. We think it unnecessary to quote any part of this document except the passage in which they refer to Harvard College. "We have read," say the rector and tutors, "the several declarations of the Reverend and Honored, the President, Professors, Tutors of Harvard College, of the Reverend the ministers of four associations near Boston, and of the Rev. Mr. Walter, of Roxbury, and others, and do in substance agree and concur with them in our sentiments." In June of the same year, the General Association of Connecticut passed the following resolve, thus expressing the sentiments of the great body of the clergy of the state: "Whereas there have of late years been many errors in doctrine and disorders in practice, prevailing in the churches of this land, which seem to have a threatening aspect upon the churches; and whereas Mr. George Whitefield has been the promoter, or at least the faulty occasion of many of these errors and disorders; this Association think it needful for them to declare, that if the said Mr. Whitefield should make his progress through this government, it would by no means be advisable for any of our ministers to admit him into their pulpits, or for any of our people to attend his administrations." A short time before this, David Brainard and the two Clevelands had been expelled from Yale College, under circumstances which certainly showed no very lively sympathy with the prevailing religious excitement. Severe laws also were enacted by the government, to check existing extravagances of both preachers and people. "Every measure," says Dr. Trumbull in his *History of Connecticut*,* "appears to have been taken to suppress the zealous experimental preachers and people, both by the legislature and the leaders among the clergy. Numbers of them were Arminians, preachers of a dead, cold morality, without any distinction of it from heathen morality, by the principles of evangelical love and faith. Experimental religion, and zeal and engagedness in preaching, and in serving God, were termed enthusiasm. And great ad-

* Vol. II. p. 176.

vantage was taken, by reason of the wild, enthusiastic errors, which some unhappily imbibed, to decry the whole work as delusion, and the work of the devil."

Dr. Trumbull, as will be perceived from his language in the above extract, favored the minority, the disciples and admirers of Whitefield. We consider it wholly unnecessary to pursue this detail further; as it must be manifest from the proofs now alleged, that President Quincy is greatly in error, in affirming, that "high Calvinistic doctrines," meaning the doctrines preached by Whitefield, and those who gave him their countenance and support, at the time of which he was speaking, "predominated—in the colony in Connecticut." On this subject there is a sort of delusion, under which a portion of the community is laboring. Numbers seem to take it for granted,—we have actually fallen in with such persons,—that Connecticut is a region, where from the first, with no abatement or fluctuations, "high Calvinism," "strict Calvinism," "rigid Calvinism" would meet the traveler at every turn; and that every thing in it, and about it, has been as deeply imbued with "Calvinistic principles," as Athens was with the spirit of liberty; where, according to Plato, the very horses and asses walked the streets with a republican air, and took very democratical liberties with all they met. President Quincy, without doubt, is better informed; yet his language through these volumes is strangely coincident with that of this class of historians. We are well aware that comparisons are odious, and would indulge in them with caution; yet we will venture here to say, that in Connecticut, the opposition to Whitefield was stronger, more determined, and more persevering, not only than it was in Massachusetts generally, but also than it was "in Boston and its vicinity and along the seaboard" of that province. Whether this is to the honor, or to the reproach of Connecticut, let others judge.

The author next proceeds to give some account of the doctrines, which "were the acknowledged instruments in producing those 'revivals,' which drew the college [Harvard] openly into the field of controversy." He here brings forward Jonathan Edwards, Charles Chauncy and Jonathan Mayhew as "distinguished divines, recognized by their contemporaries and by their respective parties as their most powerful advocates, and entitled to the character of leaders."* "In their writings," he ob-

serves, "the successive gradations of religious opinion, from high Calvinism to great liberality, appear in bold relief." Though the author here gives notice, that he is about to exhibit an account of the opposing doctrines "in a work strictly historical," yet most of what he has brought forward in this portion of his narrative, we consider not within the limits we have prescribed to our remarks. We find two statements, however, made so emphatically, that they will justify, perhaps, a passing comment. He says that Jonathan Edwards, "discerning the strength of the peculiar tenets of his sect, availed himself of their inherent power to take captive the imagination, and to paralyze the action of human reason by denying its authority." This we understand to be the same as saying, that Edwards denied the authority of human reason in religion. For if he understandingly availed himself of religious tenets which paralyze human reason by denying its authority; then that in religion he denied the authority of human reason, is only a more concise mode of expressing the same thing. But this position we should suppose that those who have even the most superficial knowledge of Edwards's writings would refuse to admit. Is it possible that the author of the treatise on "The Will," the treatise on "The Nature of True Virtue," and that on "The End for which God created the World," would deny the authority of human reason in religion? Edwards certainly maintained that all the doctrines, which he understood to be taught in the Scriptures, could be shown to be consonant with reason, or, could not be shown to be contrary to reason; or else he must have been, even in his own opinion, for the most part of his life very irrationally employed. That he fully believed in the *use* of reason in explaining and illustrating what he held to be religious truths, is proved by the course he pursued; and by what process can it be evinced that with this *use* of reason, he did not hold its *authority* to be commensurate? The admirers and followers of Edwards have ever supposed, that in this particular department, the *rationale* of religion, he greatly improved upon Calvin; and the slightest knowledge of the history of religious doctrine in this country, we should have thought, would have included this fact, that Edwards and his disciples, known so extensively through good report and evil report, as "New England Divines," have been chiefly characterized by the fearlessness with which they encounter the most abstruse theological questions, and labor to show their own views to be

agreeable to the highest reason of man. Now, it is competent for President Quincy, or any one else who thinks so, to say, that Edwards and his school have entirely failed in their object, and that their speculations are absurd and worthless; but this is a very different thing from saying, that Edwards denied the authority of human reason in religion.

The other statement respecting Edwards, to which we alluded, is this, that "the personification of the evil principle is wrought into his works with great skill and power." The "personification of the evil principle" is an *euphemism*, or exposition, it should be noticed, introduced by President Quincy, Edwards never having attained to the use of this kind of phraseology. The author proceeds to quote various passages from Edwards' works, chiefly, however, from his posthumous publications, never prepared by Edwards himself for the press, which, we do not deny, fully confirm his position. Our objection is not, that this statement is erroneous in point of fact; but that it is so made, as to represent Edwards as altogether peculiar in this respect; which, in an account "strictly historical," we find it difficult to reconcile with our notions of impartial treatment. President Quincy must know that Dr. Colman, "the recognized leader of the most liberal religious party in the province," published, in 1744, "Satan's Fiery Darts in Hellish Suggestions." Some years ago, as we well recollect, we turned over the leaves of this volume, and thought that the work did no discredit to its title. We had no suspicion, at the time, that the writer, in the use of the word "Satan," meant it as a mere figure of speech. But to hunt up beauties of this kind, we frankly confess, is an employment not exactly to our taste; and will add only, that the language so offensive to President Quincy belonged in a great measure to the age, and can hardly, as we think, be brought forward with propriety as characterizing an individual. The author is correct in saying, that Edwards "was graduated—at Yale."

We next have an account of the proceedings of Chauncy and Mayhew, and of some of the doctrines which they preached and published. Their theological opinions were, of course, much at variance with those of Edwards. "A spirit of free inquiry was awakened in the land, and found countenance and encouragement from intelligent laymen." The connection, however, of Harvard with this altered state of things is not represented as very immediate or direct, though we are told that

this seminary was "the acknowledged seat of liberal inquiry." But if there had been any change in the course of religious instruction in the college, the author would scarcely have failed to mention so important a circumstance. It must be concluded, therefore, that the Westminster Catechism and Ames's Medulla were still the standards in theology; and if all the doctrines of these symbols of faith were not directly inculcated, nothing was taught in opposition to them. The author admits that the "views of Chauncy and Mayhew received no public countenance from the governors of the college;" but says that these governors "were all on terms of friendship" with the two liberal divines, and "some of them," we are not told how many, "of professional intercourse and interchange of ministerial labors." From this account, not calculated, in all respects, to meet the expectations which had been excited, it may be inferred that a majority both of the corporation and of the board of overseers of the college were still on what was considered the orthodox side; and that President Holyoke and Professor Wigglesworth acted with these majorities, and conducted the affairs of the seminary on the same general principles, as had prevailed from the beginning. But, though the progress of the college in its reformation from Calvinism was slow, the influence of Chauncy and Mayhew was on the increase, and "the leaders of the Calvinistic sect" were alarmed.

"In this exigency," we are told, that these leaders "turned their attention to New Haven. That seminary had been founded, as has already been stated, under the auspices of persons discontented with the religious state of Harvard College; and after the lapse of half a century, it was again regarded as the place of refuge in the impending dangers of the Calvinistic faith." This account of the auspices under which Yale College was founded, we have before shown, not only to be supported by no evidence, but to be opposed by facts of the most decisive character. Every distinctive recommendation on the part of the gentlemen in Boston, who were consulted respecting the provisions of a charter for Yale College, was unheeded; and a plan was followed evidently devised in Connecticut without any foreign assistance. It has been shown, that the system of theological instruction at first introduced into the college of Connecticut, was the same in the minutest particulars with that pursued at Harvard, as that system is unfolded by President Quincy himself; and if the study of the Assembly's Catechism and Ames's

Medulla, at Harvard, was consistent with the most enlarged liberality, even with the design of uniting in favor of the seminary "all the varieties of religious belief," which, by the way, we consider entirely apocryphal, he should have furnished a substantial reason, as he has not done, why the same liberal views might not exist with the same course of instruction in Connecticut. We are referred, it is true, to Mr. Noyes's letter, but our opinion of this we have already expressed.

But it is said, "after the lapse of half a century," Yale College "was again regarded as the place of refuge in the impending dangers of the Calvinistic faith." That Yale College at its foundation was looked to as such a "place of refuge," is an assumption, as we believe, without one particle of evidence for its support. There was nothing in the constitution of the college of Connecticut, in the course of instruction, or in the mode of managing its concerns, which, so far as any facts have been produced, savors of a higher Calvinism than prevailed at Cambridge. Yale College was very early the soil in which Episcopalianism took root; it is shown by a document furnished by President Quincy himself to have lain under the imputation of latitudinarianism; such rumors were circulated of its Arminian tendencies, as to rouse the vigilance of Dr. Colman; but where are the proofs of its superior Calvinism? If such proofs can be brought forward, what evidence is there that, on this account, it was in fact a "place of refuge" for a single individual, from the apprehended evils of liberality at Cambridge? What individual can be named, who was reduced to such straits? This whole representation appears to us to be a very loose inference from more than doubtful premises.

As to the comparative orthodoxy of the two colleges at the time when, according to President Quincy, Yale College became again the refuge of Calvinists from the eastern part of Massachusetts, we had rather draw our conclusion from facts, than from surmises, however numerous. Naphtali Daggett, who graduated at Yale College in 1748, who was afterwards professor of divinity, and for eleven years the acting president of the seminary, was one of two students, who were among the earliest, if they were not in fact the first, who entered the college at New Haven from the part of Massachusetts referred to. The circumstances attending the admission of these students at Yale were written down by President Stiles in his diary a short time before the death of Dr. Daggett, which occurred in 1780;

and there can be no doubt that they are correctly detailed. In the summer of 1744, the Rev. Solomon Reed, of Massachusetts, a zealous new-light preacher, "carried three pupils, one of whom was Mr. Daggett, to enter Harvard College. But the last day was nearly past; and it was said that Mr. Reed had brought three new-light scholars; so they were refused without examination, the time being said to have elapsed. The Rev. Mr. Weld, of Attleborough, resenting the matter, himself carried Daggett and the others again to Cambridge, and remonstrated to the president with great severity; but they still refused. Upon which Mr. Reed brought Daggett and one other pupil to New Haven." This was late in the year of 1744. How it happened that these students were received at Yale College, where "new-lights" were certainly very much discountenanced and dreaded, and how they were so summarily rejected at Harvard, where every thing was designed "to assure the enjoyment of equal privileges to every religious sect or party," and where there was no "shackle for the human soul," we are unable to explain. That they were brought to New Haven by Mr. Reed, because he supposed that the theology there prevalent was more consonant with his own, than the theology at Cambridge, or because the disciples of Whitefield were treated at New Haven with especial favor, cannot be true. A short time only before Mr. Reed brought his pupils to Yale College, David Brainerd had been expelled under circumstances ill calculated to draw "new-lights" within its walls. The report of this proceeding had gone through New England; and the echoes of it are still occasionally heard. Two students, whose case is so particularly reported by Dr. Trumbull, had just been expelled for attending a separate new-light religious meeting. The truth is that Mr. Reed, after his application at Cambridge had been so peremptorily denied, had only "Hopson's choice;" it was Yale College, or no college whatever. Such was the Calvinistic "place of refuge," to which Mr. Reed's pupils betook themselves.

In 1766, Naphtali Daggett, one of these pupils, had become the acting president of Yale College. Two years afterwards, the same Mr. Reed brought his son to Yale College, who graduated in 1772, the late Rev. Dr. John Reed, of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and in 1771, he brought another son, afterwards the Rev. Solomon Reed, of Petersham, Massachusetts, who graduated in 1775. The Rev. Mr. Hodges, in a sermon preached

before the congregational society in Bridgewater in 1831, soon after the death of their pastor, says, that the father of Dr. Reed preferred Yale College, "both on account of his intimate friendship with some of its officers, and because of the soundness, in his view, of the theological doctrines there maintained." That an intimacy existed between Mr. Reed and President Daggett, is without doubt true; but that there was at that time any difference in the theology of the two colleges, generally recognized, it would be difficult, as we think, to produce any clear contemporary evidence. Some other students at this period may have come to Yale College from the same quarter of the country, under peculiar circumstances, as Samuel Wales, afterwards professor of divinity, from Raynham, who graduated in 1767; but their number was too inconsiderable to indicate that this was in consequence of any excitement about orthodoxy, or heterodoxy.

President Quincy goes on to say: "In the year 1752, the clergy of Connecticut, with the co-operation of the Calvinistic sect in Massachusetts, sedulously began the task of "settling and securing orthodoxy in the college at New Haven, and to preserve it, in all the governors thereof, upon the best foundation that human wisdom, directed by the general rules of God's word, could devise." The author refers to "President Clap's "History of Yale College" as an authority for this statement; but neither at the page noted, nor in any other part of the work, do we find that support, which it so much needs. The fact, probably, which he had in his mind was this; that in 1753, public worship began to be held in the college chapel, and the reason assigned for separating from the congregation in town was, that the college was "in danger of being infected with errors." It is said, moreover, by President Clap, that this measure was adopted, agreeably "to the advice of the General Association." That a part of the clergy of Massachusetts had any thing to do in this matter, is something new. No such information is found in President Clap's history, nor do we know of any source from which it could have been derived. We are next told that in November, 1753, the president and fellows of that seminary passed votes declaring that the students should be established in the principles of religion, according to the Assembly's Catechism, Dr. Ames's Medulla and Cases of Conscience, and should not be suffered to be instructed in any different principles or doctrines." This is incorrect. In the preamble to the resolves passed at the time

mentioned, it is stated historically, that these regulations were made by the founders of the college, but in the resolves themselves, the whole is *omitted*, except the "Assembly's Catechism." The account which follows is more conformable to fact : that the president and fellows resolved, "that the Assembly's Catechism, and the Confession of Faith, received and established in the churches of this colony, (which is an abridgment of the Westminster Confession,) contain a true and just summary of the most important doctrines of the Christian religion, and that the true sense of the sacred Scriptures is justly collected and summed up in those compositions, and all expositions of Scripture pretending to deduce any doctrines or positions contrary to the doctrines laid down in these compositions, we are of opinion, are wrong and erroneous; and that every president, fellow, professor of divinity, or tutor in the college shall, before he enter upon the execution of his office, publicly consent to the said Catechism and Confession of Faith, as containing a just summary of the Christian religion, and renounce all doctrines and principles contrary thereto, and shall pass through such examination, as the corporation shall think proper in order to their being fully satisfied, that he should do it truly, and without any evasion or equivocation." To this account President Quincy subjoins the remark : "These measures for perpetuating Calvinism in the land were highly approved by all of that faith; and an accession of students to Yale College about this time, greater than at Harvard, was regarded as an omen of the advantages to be derived from a close adherence to Calvinistic doctrines." Before noticing this remark with the particularity which it seems to call for, we have a few suggestions to make respecting the resolves of the president and fellows of Yale College in 1753.

The times immediately succeeding the preaching of Whitefield in New England were marked by numerous theological controversies and violent religious dissensions. This certainly was true of some parts of Connecticut. In New Haven, where there had hitherto been but one ecclesiastical society, and with which the officers and students of the college were accustomed to worship, there arose a long and fierce contention, partly from a difference on points of doctrine, and partly from personal dislike of the minister, the Rev. Mr. Noyes. This contest terminated in the severance of the society into two, in both of which, whatever Christian virtues were in exercise, those of long-suffering,

meekness and charity were far from being very conspicuous. It was the opinion of many of the friends of the college, that its best interests required it to be separated as far as possible from this controversy; and in consequence the plan of having the students worship by themselves in the college chapel was devised. The advocates of this new scheme urged, among other reasons for its adoption, that the students needed better preaching than they were in the way of hearing from Mr. Noyes; whose orthodoxy likewise was called in question. The friends of Mr. Noyes were offended, opposed the projected measure, and threatened to prosecute the officers and students of the college for meeting in a religious assembly not recognized, as they maintained, by the laws. Parties on this subject existed through the state; the college was the object of constant attacks; efforts were making to subject it to a legislative visitation; and among other reasons alleged for such a proceeding was this, that the orthodoxy of the college was in great danger, as there was no adequate security for its continuance. The college was fast losing public favor; and some extraordinary efforts seemed to be called for to save it from ruin. It was in this state of things, that the resolves referred to, and in part quoted, by President Quincy, were passed by the president and fellows. It was a measure of peace, an attempt to reconcile parties, and to recover, if possible, the public confidence, which, through a course of untoward events, was nearly lost. The project was attended with some plausibility. Among all the parties into which the religious community was divided, the Saybrook Confession of Faith was treated with respect; at least, it was publicly renounced by none. All retained the name of Calvinists; for though some were called Arminians, this name was voluntarily assumed by few, if any. There were not only "strict Calvinists," but "moderate" Calvinists, "charitable" Calvinists, and "catholic" Calvinists; for all these designations were in use. It was supposed, that if the religious instruction in the college should be conformable to the Westminster Catechism and the Saybrook Confession, that hostility would in a good degree cease, and the public mind be quieted.

But the consequences of any important measure, especially of one bearing upon religious controversies and prejudices, can hardly be foreseen. In the present case, the result of the introduction into the college of the new test, was far from answering the expectations of its friends. There were those, who

thought it unnecessary, and preferred that the college should remain on its original foundation; and among these were individuals whose Calvinism was undoubted. Others did not object to the test, except as it was so worded, as, in their opinion, to make the Catechism and Confession superior to the Scriptures; which they held to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice. Whether the college, upon the whole, gained or lost by this measure, may be doubted; the probability is, that at first, the number of its friends was considerably diminished. However this may have been, it is certain that the institution never was in the enjoyment of so little public favor, as from 1753 to 1766, in which latter year President Clap resigned his office. The controversy about this time with the British government began, which led to the Revolution; the attention of the public was turned to other objects, and the college as a subject of contention was lost sight of. In 1782, when the Rev. Dr. Wales was inducted into the professorship of divinity, an important change was made in the test. He, at his inauguration, declared the Scriptures to be "the only sure and infallible rule of faith and practice," assented to the Westminster and Saybrook Confessions, "as containing the most essential and principal doctrines of Christianity," gave in a creed expressed in his own language, and instead of renouncing all doctrines contrary to the Confessions, renounced only such as were contrary to what he had assented to, that is, all opinions contrary to his own. Time is a great soother of discord; few recollected much of former disputes, still fewer noticed the change; there were no religious periodicals eager to herald the news, and little was said or thought of the matter. Other modifications of the resolves were subsequently made, till the whole were abolished; it being supposed that the time had come, when, if the test was ever of any use, that use was no longer perceived. The college was left on the basis where its founders placed it; the care and vigilance of the president and fellows; especially in selecting proper persons to fill vacancies in their own body, and in the several offices of instruction.

There is no reason for entering here on the question, whether the acts of the president and fellows, in 1753, were expedient or inexpedient, wise or foolish. The historical sketch now given of these proceedings and their consequences has been furnished only to make manifest, how greatly misinformed President Quincy must have been on several important parts of

this subject. According to his representation "these measures for perpetuating Calvinism in the land, were highly approved by all of that faith;" which, as appears from what has been said above, is very wide from the fact. They were "highly approved of" by hardly any; they were acquiesced in by a considerable number. The manner in which these resolves of the president and fellows were received by the stricter class of Calvinists, is well illustrated by some of the public proceedings of the times. When an effort was made to procure a professor of divinity for the college, who at the same time should be the college preacher, the means for his support, as a very important part of the concern, were to be provided. In this exigency, application was made to the legislature; and this body was approached with the more confidence, as the "new-light" party had increased of late in numbers and strength, and the orthodoxy of the college was thought to be now indisputable. "To engage the house to a compliance they were told that Arminianism, Socinianism and Arianism were greatly prevailing in the country; and that Mr. Noyes was not only a poor, but a dangerous preacher." Such was the language of the advocates of the college petition before the house. They said, likewise, that Mr. Noyes completely neutralized his own instructions; for he would "preach Calvinism one part of the day, and Arminianism the other."

But all this was to no purpose. The legislature, especially as money was asked for, were incredulous. Those who called themselves moderate Calvinists, but were called by their opponents Arminians, were either adverse to the petition, or lukewarm. The "new-light" party recollected that the college had for a long time been believed by them to be *Arminian*, that Whitefield had been opposed, and that violent measures had been pursued in the institution to check the progress of what in their apprehension was pure orthodoxy; and in fine, the conversion of the president and fellows was thought too sudden, to pass even in the view of "new-lights" for genuine. The petition was of course denied; and not only so, but the annuity of a hundred pounds, which had been paid by the legislature for the encouragement of the college from its foundation, was discontinued about the same time. This was alleged to be done on the ground of the great expenses of the French war; but there was incredulity on this subject likewise; especially, as not far from the same date, on the application of the Rev. Aaron Burr,

president of the College of New Jersey, then recently established, the legislature granted him a lottery for the aid of that seminary. A Calvinism was thought to prevail there, which was purer, or which was more faithfully inculcated.

Such was the predicament in which the president and fellows of Yale College found themselves, at the time when, according to President Quincy, their "measures for perpetuating Calvinism in the land, were highly approved by all of that faith." How entirely gratuitous this is, we believe to be abundantly clear. What inducement at that time was there for strict Calvinists to come to Yale College, and especially to leave Harvard; since in the latter, so far as we can ascertain from this history, theological instruction was still given, according to the Westminster Catechism and Ames's Medulla, with few to molest or excite alarm? But it is said, that "an accession of students to Yale College about this time, greater than at Harvard, was regarded as an omen of the advantages to be derived from a close adherence to Calvinistic doctrines." Regarded by whom? We are fully confident that this is an unfounded inference. That there was such an accession is true; but it is ascribed to a wrong cause. The comparative number of graduates in the two colleges from 1745 to 1760, inclusive, is stated by the author, as follows. "During the eight years, 1745—1752 inclusive, *one hundred and ninety-four* were graduated at Harvard, and *one hundred and seventy-nine* at Yale. During the eight years, 1753—1760, inclusive, *two hundred and five* were graduated at Harvard, and *two hundred and fifty-four* at Yale."* This calculation we are willing to admit as correct, without taking the trouble to verify it. The reason assigned of the greater increase of graduates from 1753 to 1760 at Yale than at Harvard is what we object to. It must be obvious to any one who has read the preceding remarks, that there is little probability that Yale College, even after the introduction of the test, certainly down to 1760, had a higher reputation for orthodoxy than Harvard. We know of no contemporary evidence to this effect. Allowing, however, that such was the fact, this difference did not lead to any influx of students into Yale from the eastern portion of Massachusetts. In the eight years from 1753 to 1760 inclusive, we can name with confidence but one, that is Samuel Wales, who came from that

* Vol. II. p. 462.

part of the country ; whereas we could name several, who, within this eight years, graduated at Harvard from Connecticut. There cannot be a doubt, that the balance was in favor of Harvard ; that is, that more students went to Harvard from Connecticut, than from the eastern portion of Massachusetts to Yale. This is as might have been anticipated. The old attachments to Harvard were not worn out in Connecticut ; gentlemen, who had been educated there themselves, sent their sons to the same place ; and as to the comparative orthodoxy of Harvard and Yale, no such question was generally, if at all, agitated. But if students at this time were enticed to Yale, as President Quincy intimates, who were they ? from what places did they come ? and what became of them ?

To reply fully to President Quincy's calculation of the increase of students at Yale College, in consequence of the Calvinistic resolves of 1753, it is necessary to refer to the early sphere of operation of Yale College, whence its students were derived, and to what quarters it looked for support and patronage.

President Quincy seems to be of the opinion, not only that Yale College, in its youth, was too much occupied in reading the Bible and learning the catechism, but that it was born somewhat out of due time. His mistake here can be easily shown. At the time Yale College was instituted there was, in British America, no other seminary of the kind where instruction was given, except Harvard. The remoteness of Cambridge, especially when the facilities of travelling were so few, and the poverty of the country, left the greater part of Connecticut, New-York, Eastern New Jersey, and the parts beyond, without the means of a liberal education, such as their necessities required. It was for this region of territory that Yale College was at first designed ; and it was from the west and from the valley of the Connecticut, that students were expected and actually came. At the time so particularly referred to by President Quincy, there were students in Yale College from the Carolinas. The success of the experiment might be demonstrated by numerous details, if the case demanded it ; a slight reference to Smith's History of New-York will suffice. He says : " It was from this seminary [Yale College] that many of the western churches in New-York and New Jersey were afterwards furnished with their English clergymen." It appears from the same historian, that so late as 1746-47 all the "academics," as he terms them, in the province, with the exception of one or two from the university of Cambridge in

England, were from Yale College. It is hence evident, that Yale College was not at first a mere hot-house plant, upheld in life by the warmth generated in Massachusetts controversies, but that it was originally the production of a fertile soil and a genial climate, and that it bore abundant and healthful fruit.

As the population of the country increased, the number of students at New Haven likewise increased ; and this, for half a century. About this time was founded the College of New Jersey, and soon after King's College in New-York, both of which, of course, drew some scholars from Yale ; the latter, in part, by being an Episcopal institution, and being patronized by men of high distinction in the parent country, the former, by being more accessible to those in its neighborhood, and enjoying the reputation of superior orthodoxy. From the establishment of the College of New Jersey to the revolutionary war, some of the more strict Calvinists of Connecticut sent their sons to that seminary ; and this practice was discontinued only, when all other controversies and jealousies were absorbed in the national struggle for independence. Here it will be asked, if from 1753 and onward, students began to frequent the new colleges in New-York and New Jersey, and some still went from Connecticut to Cambridge, how it happened, that the numbers at Yale still continued to increase ? The solution of this difficulty is easy, and at hand. In the charter of Yale College, granted by the legislature of the colony in 1745, the students were freed from all liability to military service. To escape being drafted into the army during the Canada campaigns, and expeditions to other quarters, many entered the college ; which became a place of refuge, not for persecuted Calvinism, but for those who dreaded the dangers and fatigues of the camp more than they did heresy. No historical fact of the time is capable of more complete proof than this. Every new call for troops sent numbers to the college. From one town, where a sort of conscription had been enforced, seven students entered the college the following year ; and at a different time, in another town, a similar cause brought five youth to the conclusion, that they were best fitted for a scholastic life. It is supposed that some came from the west and south, and some possibly from Massachusetts, for the same reason. Hence the phenomenon is explained, that notwithstanding the college was in great disrepute with the legislature, was viewed with jealousy if not hostility, by many of the clergy, and had but a doubtful reputation for pure orthodoxy ; the number of students was not only not di-

minished, but enlarged. In the paragraph, then, of this history, upon which we have been now commenting, there are great and important errors, which may be thus summarily stated. Yale College is represented to have been, about the middle of the last century and for some time after, a place of refuge for Massachusetts Calvinists, which it was not ; a resolve is ascribed to the president and fellows, which is merely a historical recital in the preamble to their resolves ; the measures taken at Yale College for perpetuating Calvinism in the land, are said to have been highly approved by all of that faith,—which has been shown not to be a fact ; and an increase of students at Yale College is ascribed to these measures as a consequence, with which it had not the slightest connection.

There are other passages in this work, in which Connecticut, or Yale College is alluded to, which furnish materials for remark ; but of these, one only will be noticed. In speaking of the Episcopal controversy, the author quotes a passage from Archbishop Secker's answer to Dr. Mayhew, in which the following sentence occurs : " There is, indeed, a college in New England, where students have been forbidden to attend Episcopal service, and a young man has been fined for going to hear his own father, an Episcopal minister, preach. But in Harvard College, it seems, a better spirit prevails ; and it is more likely to flourish, both for that moderation and the new church built near it." This intolerant college could be no other than Yale College ; for besides Harvard, there was at that time no other than Yale in New England. The remark of Archbishop Secker, admitting it to be well founded, strikes us as coming from him with a very poor grace. No person could then become a student at Oxford, nor can now, without subscribing the thirty-nine articles as a condition of his matriculation ; nor be admitted to any degree at Cambridge, without going through the same ceremony. What student at either of the English universities would think of assigning as a reason for some delinquency, his attendance on a dissenting religious service ? Besides, Archbishop Secker was born and educated among the dissenters ; and might be supposed, therefore, to understand and correctly appreciate the feelings and motives of his old associates. He must have known, that in Connecticut, at that time, Episcopalians were dissenters ; and if they were subjected to any disabilities by the colonial government, or in the college, it was according to the example set the colonists by the parlia-

ment and universities in England. The fact was, however, that when Episcopal worship was established in New Haven, all students belonging to the English church were allowed to attend its service on communion days; but at other times they were required to be present in the college chapel. The penalty for absence was a few pence. The probability is, that in the case referred to, the absence was noted; but whether the student was at his room, or at church, heard his father preach or any one else, was never a subject of inquiry by the college government. These remarks are made, that the circumstances of this occurrence, if there is any foundation for the story, may be understood, and not for the purpose of defending the law. This, without question, as all would now view it, was both illiberal and inexpedient; though there is no reason to doubt, that those who made the regulation fully believed, as they had departed so far from the strictness of the Episcopal church in England, that they were acting with a good degree of catholicism and kindness.

We have aimed to confine our observations within the limits, which we prescribed to ourselves in the beginning. No attack has been intended on any individual or institution. Our object has been, to give those interested in such inquiries an opportunity to see some things which can be said against, as well as for, a few positions taken by President Quincy, that they may judge for themselves where the truth lies. We wish not to be understood to maintain, that all the measures adopted and pursued at Yale College, have been, from its foundation, free from objection. That with some mistakes, very few if any intentional, it has done some good in the world, we fully believe; and should be the last not to acknowledge the same of Harvard. It appeared to us on first looking at this history of Harvard University, and a reperusal has not altered the impression, that all, whose knowledge of the subject does not extend beyond the limits of this work,—which description includes almost all foreigners and very many in our own country,—would rise from reading it necessarily with the conviction, that Yale College had been from the first, whatever the author may have intended, the seat of narrow sectarianism, bigotry, and all uncharitableness; and this, without one redeeming quality. Not believing this correct, we have felt it to be a duty to state briefly our own views thus far, and hence the preceding observations.

We are unwilling to bring our remarks to a close, without a

reference to the literary celebration, in which this history originated. In September, 1836, the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Harvard University was observed at Cambridge, with appropriate ceremonies; and the discourse delivered by President Quincy on that occasion, much enlarged, and accompanied with many valuable original documents, forms the contents of these volumes. At this celebration it was our good fortune to be present. Never was any plan of a pageant better devised, or more successfully executed. Every thing was appropriate to the place, the occasion, and to the character of those, who took a part in the exercises of the day. The perfect order maintained, the correct deportment of the under-graduates, the civility and hospitality of the several officers of instruction and government, were all in unison with the reputation which Harvard has so long maintained. Among the graduates of Yale College, who were present, but one voice was heard; all joined in high praise of the University, whose birth they were celebrating; and appeared to pride themselves on the relation in which they stood to Harvard; since they were from an institution, which was the first off-shoot from so venerable a stock. They stopped not to inquire for failings and defects; but in view of the great benefits which had flowed, and were still flowing from this ancient and copious fountain, united in the general aspiration, which without doubt they will continue to repeat, *Esto perpetua.*

ARTICLE VII.

EXPOSITION OF HEBREWS 6 : 4—6.

By Rev. Silas M'Keen, Pastor of the First Cong. Church in Belfast, Maine.

For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame.

In looking for the meaning of this remarkable, and, as it is generally esteemed, difficult passage of Scripture, it seems natural to inquire: "Who are the persons here spoken of? What is supposed respecting them? And what is affirmed concerning them, in case the thing supposed should occur?"

When we can answer these questions correctly, we shall, of course, understand what the Apostle intended to express, when he wrote this impressive and terrible warning against apostasy from the Christian faith. That the general scope of the passage is to give such a warning, is admitted by all.

I. WHO ARE THE PERSONS HERE SPOKEN OF? Are they true Christians, regenerated persons? Or are they those only who have been favored with special religious privileges, convictions, impressions and perhaps miraculous powers, but have never been truly renewed in heart? As thorough an examination of the passage as we have been able to make, has convinced us fully, that the persons spoken of are true believers in Christ. What is said of them fairly implies this; and it is most agreeable to the context that the passage should be thus understood. Observe the several characteristics of these persons definitely stated by the apostle.

1. *They had been once enlightened.* In John 1 : 9, it is said: "That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." If by this we are to understand, as many do, that Christ does, in some way and measure, enlighten the minds of all men, it is obvious that the expression in the text

must not be taken in that general sense; for the Apostle's design, in saying that these had been enlightened, manifestly was to distinguish them from others who had not been in the same sense enlightened. We must also understand something more than being enlightened with the common light of the gospel. For very many on whom this light shines are still declared in the Scriptures to be in darkness. They are so mentally. "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved." John 39 : 19, 20. The light shines around them; but as they have either no eyes to behold it, or close their eyes against it, they are not illuminated; but, like the naturally blind, grope at noonday as in the night. The meaning is not that those, who are said to be in darkness under the light of the gospel, have no more information with respect to religious subjects than they would have if the light of the gospel did not shine upon them; but that they still remain without any true knowledge of divine things. They do not perceive their importance, consistency and exceeding glory. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." 1 Cor. 2 : 14.

The term φωτισθέντας, *enlightened*, appears to be used occasionally in the New Testament, in a peculiar sense, to designate such as have been inwardly illuminated by the Spirit of God, so as to behold and appreciate the glory and loveliness of divine things. Thus, in the tenth chapter, verse 32, of this epistle, the writer says to his brethren: "Call to remembrance the former days, in which, after ye were illuminated, ye endured a great fight of afflictions." This, being addressed to the Hebrews, was spoken of persons who had been always favored with divine revelation; and yet the Apostle refers to some particular time when they were illuminated. They were doubtless true believers, regenerated persons, and their illumination is mentioned as an evidence of the fact. With what is here said the language of the Apostle in the text perfectly coincides; and evidently refers to the same sort of persons. The same Apostle, addressing the saints at Ephesus, observes that he ceased not to make mention of them in his prayers, "that the eyes of their understanding being *enlightened*, they might know what is

the hope of Christ's calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints." Eph. 1: 18. Here again he refers to that inward, spiritual illumination which is peculiar to the people of God. Of the wicked he says: "The god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them." But in the same connection he says of himself and his fellow Christians: "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts (*πρὸς φωτισμὸν*) to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ." 2 Cor. 4: 6. Here we see that this illumination affects not only the understandings but the hearts of men, and that it brings them to behold the glory of God as it shines in the face of Jesus Christ. This surely is peculiar to those who are born of the Spirit, created anew in righteousness and true holiness, and called out of darkness into God's marvellous light. Others, having no relish for moral excellency, cannot perceive the Saviour's glory, but despise and reject him.

2. The persons here spoken of are said—*γευσάμενους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου*,—*to have tasted of the heavenly gift*. But what is meant by the heavenly gift? One expositor replies: "the Lord's Supper;" another: "freedom from the yoke of the law of Moses, and the grievous superstitions of heathenism." Several of the Greek fathers, quoted by Whitby, understood it to mean the remission of sins conferred in baptism. Drs. Scott and Owen considered the phrase to express what the Apostle afterwards calls being made partakers of the Holy Ghost, who is signally the gift of God. And in confirmation of this interpretation the last named author expresses his belief that the term *δωρεά*, when God is the giver, is never used in the New Testament in any other sense. This opinion does not, however, appear to be supported. In the epistle to the Romans, 5: 15, we read: "If through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God and *the gift* (*ἡ δωρεά*) by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many." Here God is the giver; the term in question stands for the thing given; and yet not the Holy Ghost particularly, but the offer of eternal life appears to be the thing intended. In verse 17, of the same chapter, the Apostle speaks of *τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς δικαιοσύνης*, *the gift of righteousness*, which

refers to pardon, justification and acceptance with God. Again, in his second epistle to the Corinthians, 9: 15, he says: "*Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift.*" As there is nothing in the text itself or in its connection to show that by the "unspeakable gift" of God the Holy Ghost was intended, it seems more reasonable to understand the phrase, as most commentators do, *of Christ*; in consequence of whose death for us all, the Holy Spirit, and every other blessing of the Christian dispensation are bestowed upon the world. Christ is indeed an unspeakable gift; a gift that includes in itself all others which God ever has bestowed, or ever will bestow on fallen man. Another similar passage we find in John 4: 10, where our Saviour says to the Samaritan woman: "If thou knewest *the gift of God*, and who it is that saith to thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldst have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water." On this passage, Dr. Scott remarks, that "the gift of God may either mean, in general, his free mercy and grace to sinners, or the gift of his own Son to be their Saviour, and to procure for them all spiritual blessings." Pool likewise observes: "Many by the gift of God here understand Christ, whom God gave to the world, and who is the greatest gift that God ever gave to the world; so that the latter words, "and who it is that saith to thee," expound the former."

How, then shall we understand the phrase in our text? It is evident that by "the heavenly gift," the Apostle meant some gift from heaven which was so great, so distinguished from all others, that he did not judge it necessary to state particularly what it was. What, in this view of the matter, can be more reasonable than to suppose that he means Christ himself, who is surely the chief gift of God, under the gospel dispensation,—a gift without which neither the Holy Spirit nor the offer of eternal life would ever have been made. This interpretation is suggested by the phraseology used; it agrees with the context, and is supported by all those passages in which the sacred writers speak with so much astonishment of the love of God, manifested in giving his Son to make propitiation for sin by his death on the cross. "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." John 3: 16. "He spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all." Rom. 8: 32. Besides, to explain the passage to mean the *Holy Ghost*, as some

have done, makes it expletive; since the Holy Ghost is particularly mentioned in the next clause of the passage.

If then “the heavenly gift” means the gift of Christ to be our Saviour, to *taste* of this gift is doubtless to *know by experience* that Christ is precious. Nor is this term necessarily of diminutive signification. “Verily, verily, I say unto you,” said Christ, “there be some standing here which shall never taste of death (shall not know by experience what death is, shall not die) till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom.” Matthew 16 : 28. In like manner Christ himself is said to have *tasted death* for every man. Heb. 2 : 9. In several passages the term is employed, just as I have supposed it to be used in the text. “O taste and see that the Lord is good.” Ps. 34 : 8. He would have them acquaint themselves with God, be reconciled to him, obey him, trust in him, and thus learn by experience how great was his goodness to his people. In like manner Peter says: “As new born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word that ye may grow thereby; if so be *ye have tasted* that the Lord is gracious.” 1 Peter 2 : 3. Now this is precisely what the persons spoken of in the passage before us are said to have done. By faith they had received Christ, they had made trial of him as a Saviour, and found him to be gracious, a gift from heaven of the highest value to mankind.

3. They are said to have been made *partakers* (μετόχους) of the Holy Ghost. Dr. Owen observes that “the Holy Ghost may be received, either as to his personal inhabitation, or to his spiritual operation,”—by which he appears to mean miraculous powers,—and then proceeds to show, that, since these persons were not true Christians, and of course could not be partakers of the Holy Ghost in the former sense, they must be so only in the latter. But here an important point is taken for granted which ought first to have been proved; namely, that these persons were not true Christians. If not true Christians, why should the Holy Ghost impart to them miraculous powers? That some ungodly persons, in the days of the apostles, like the magicians in the time of Moses, made a show of miraculous powers, is admitted. But that they performed their wonderful works, whatever they were, by the Holy Ghost, or were in any degree made partakers with the apostles, of the Holy Ghost I can find no evidence. They were, I apprehend, no more partakers of the Holy Ghost than were Jannes and Jambres, or Balaam, or the beast on which he

rode.* Not a single passage can be adduced which speaks of any person as either receiving the Holy Ghost, or as being made a partaker of the Holy Ghost except in the best sense of the ex-

* This is a subject which needs to be more thoroughly examined and better understood, than it commonly is. Our Saviour, speaking of events immediately preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, says: "There shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; inasmuch, that if it were possible, they would deceive the very elect." Matt. 24: 24. The implication is, that these great signs and wonders were but a *show*, the deceitfulness of which might be, and by the true people of God would be, detected. In 2 Thess. 2: 9, there is a passage which may throw light on this point. Paul, predicting the appearance of "the man of sin," by which the papal power appears to be intended, says: "Even him whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and miracles of falsehood, and with all deceit of unrighteousness, among them that perish, because they embraced not the love of the truth, that they might be saved." Here wicked men pretend to work miracles, they practise base deceit, and the ungodly multitude among whom they do these things are, to some extent, fatally deluded by them;—a prediction which has been fearfully verified in the church of Rome. But there is no proof that these were *true* miracles. The passage in Matt. 7: 22, may belong to the same category. Hypocrites are there represented as pleading before their final Judge: "Have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works?" Does Christ admit their plea? Does it appear that he had ever given them the spirit of prophesy, or the power of working true miracles? By no means. His reply is: "I never knew you; depart from me ye that work iniquity." But did not Judas work true miracles? As he was one of the chosen apostles, unto whom Christ, when sending them forth, gave, without apparent exception, power and authority over all devils, and to cure all diseases, as well as to preach the kingdom of God (Luke 9: 1, 2); and as he, during his public ministry, undoubtedly bore *true testimony* respecting Christ, it may be that Christ confirmed his commission and testimony by performing, at his instance, miraculous operations. This might be an exception to the general rule. But that Judas ever did cast out devils, or work miracles in the name of Christ, we have no certain proof; and

pression. In Heb. 1: 9, the Father is represented as saying to the Son: "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with oil of gladness above *thy fellows*,—*τοὺς μετόχους σου*. This oil of gladness denotes the communication of the Spirit of God, for we are elsewhere told that Christ was anointed with the Spirit of God and with power. But who were these "fellows" who were made partakers with him of the Holy Ghost, either with respect to his inhabitation, or miraculous powers? Shall we include among them ungodly persons, who have always resisted the Holy Ghost, and been led captive by Satan at his will? None could be joint-partakers with him in this benefit, but those to whom he him-

therefore no argument can be supported by the supposed fact. From our Saviour's declaration, in regard to the signs which should attend those who might believe,—“in my name shall they cast out devils,” etc.,—it would seem that it was peculiar to true believers to do these things. The case stated in 1 Cor. 13,—“though I speak with the tongues of men and angels,” etc.,—is evidently *supposed* to illustrate the necessity of vital religion. Let it be remembered also, that even if Christ did confirm the *true* testimony of either Judas or any other ungodly teacher by performing miracles, in accordance with their desires, this of itself can afford no evidence that these ungodly individuals were “*partakers of the Holy Ghost*.” The question to be settled is, whether, as a matter of fact, such ungodly persons are declared in Scripture to have been “partakers of the Holy Ghost.” The passage before us must not be forced to testify against itself. In what place, then, are ungodly men said to be “partakers of the Holy Ghost?” When Simon, the sorcerer, coveted the miraculous powers of the Spirit, and offered to purchase them with money, Peter retorted upon him with awful severity, as if he had given utterance to unheard of iniquity. In fact, to be a partaker of the Holy Ghost, or be filled by his divine influence, is, in Scripture, expressive of the most eminent piety. When the miraculous gifts of the Spirit were imparted to any, it was considered by the apostles one of the strongest proofs that they were true believers in Christ, and proper subjects for baptism. See Acts 10: 44—48. The apostles acknowledged such to be as truly approved of by God as they were themselves.

self was pleased to impart it. This he did to his disciples when he first appeared to them after his resurrection. "He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost." John 20: 22. The Spirit was imparted copiously and wonderfully to the apostles, and other believers who were assembled with one accord, in one place, on the day of Pentecost. Again, Peter, as recorded in the 15th chapter of Acts, addressing the council of apostles and elders at Jerusalem, says: "Ye know how that a good while ago, God made choice among us, that the Gentiles, by my mouth, should hear the word of the gospel and believe. And God, which knoweth the hearts, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as he did unto us; and put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith." By this it appears that when God gave the Holy Ghost to persons, it was an evidence that they were accepted by him, and approved as his children. The apostles and other divinely inspired teachers were invested by the Spirit of God with the power of performing miracles to prove that God had sent them, and that the doctrines which they preached were the truth of God. How then does it consist with reason to suppose that false teachers and other ungodly men possessed the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost in the same manner? What would be the effect but to render nugatory one of the strongest evidences they had to show that they were divinely commissioned, and thus to bring the Christian religion into universal discredit?

4. They had *tasted of the good word of God*. By the word of God we must understand, either the revelation of God contained in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which those Hebrews had always possessed, or the gospel of God, which had then recently been preached to them. It is not material which explanation we adopt, since those who had a cordial relish for the one, must have had the same relish for the other also. In fact, both may have been intended. The word of God is said to be καλόν, *good*, that is, desirable, or amiable. This they had ascertained by experiment; they had *tasted* of the word of God and found it good and excellent. Their experience corresponded with that of the Psalmist, who said: "How sweet are thy words unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth;" "more to be desired are they than gold, yea than much fine gold." To those who love God, who delight in his law, the word of God is sweet; they peruse it, hear it, medi-

tate upon it, with great delight. Sooner would they resign all earthly possessions than be deprived of a blessing so highly esteemed. But to those who have no delight in God and the way of life which he has provided, his word appears void of interest, if not contradictory and absurd. The fact, then, that these persons had learned by experience the sweetness and excellency of the divine word, is a proof that their hearts had been changed, and that they were true believers in Jesus.

5. They had likewise tasted of *the powers of the world to come*,—*δυνάμεις τε μέλλοντος αἰῶρος*. Upon this clause Owen remarks, that “by the world to come our Apostle intends *the days of the Messiah*, that being the usual name of it in the church at that time, as the new world which God had promised to create.” Several other highly respectable expositors have expressed a similar opinion. Indeed, it seems to be very generally taken for granted, that in the days of the apostles the Christian dispensation was commonly denominated *the world to come*. But the proof, so far as we have been able to ascertain, is yet to be furnished. It is indeed said that the Hebrews, before the coming of the Messiah, were accustomed to speak of their own dispensation as *הַיָּמִים הַזֵּהִם* *this age*, and of the reign of the Messiah as *הַיָּמִים הַבָּאִים* *the age to come*. And in some copies of the Septuagint, the phrase in Isaiah 9 : 6, *אָבִי-יְצִרֵנוּ*, which our translators have rendered *Eternal Father*,—is *πατήρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶρος*, *Father of the coming age*; by which it is supposed the Christian dispensation was designated. But what if this dispensation, in the days of the prophets, while it was really future, was occasionally spoken of as the *age to come*? Does that prove that after it had come it continued to be spoken of in the very same terms? If the Christian dispensation, in the time of Christ and his apostles, was familiarly denominated *the world to come*, why are there no decided examples of it in their discourses and writings? We frequently meet with this phrase in the New Testament, but where in the sense above ascribed to it? “Whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, *οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ αἰῶνι, οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι*, neither *in this world nor in that to come*.” Matt. 12 : 32. What our Saviour meant by *this world* is evident from his words in the next chapter, v. 40 : “As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire, so shall it be in the end of *this world*. The Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity,

and shall cast them into a furnace of fire ; there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.” And that by “the world to come” he meant the eternal state, the world of retribution, clearly appears by the parallel passage in Mark 3 : 28 : “He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath *never* forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation.” In the following passage, Christ speaks of these two states or worlds by way of contrast, and in terms which cannot easily be misunderstood. “The children of *this world* marry and are given in marriage ; but they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain *that world* and the resurrection from the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage.” Luke 20 : 34, 35. In like manner, Paul, speaking of the exaltation of Christ, says that God “set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality and power and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but in that also which is to come.” How absurd it would be to interpret this last expression in such way as to limit the dominion of Christ to his reign on earth, when every impartial reader must see that it was designed to give us the largest and grandest idea of his exaltation ! The phrase “world to come” is used in the New Testament generally, and I believe universally, in the same sense in which Christian writers and speakers commonly employ it now, to express the future state, the world of spirits. And so it ought to be understood in our text.

If then we understand this phrase, “the world to come,” to mean the *eternal state* into which souls enter after death, what is meant by *tasting of its powers* ? The term *δύναμις*, in the singular, expresses ability, strength, or force. It is spoken of the essential power, the true nature and efficacy, the reality of any thing. The Apostle, Phil. 3 : 10, expresses a strong desire that he might know Christ and *the power of his resurrection* ; or, in other words, that this fact might have its due influence on his mind and conduct. In its plural form, the term is sometimes used to signify those who are invested with power, and sometimes for the mighty deeds performed by them, especially by the workers of miracles. The sun, moon and stars are repeatedly called *the powers of the heavens*, inasmuch as they are not only monuments of divine power, but have a mighty influence on the earth and its inhabitants. Of Christ it is said (1 Peter 3 : 22) : “He is on the right hand of God ; angels and authorities and *powers* being made subject unto him.” Here

the term *powers*, being used to express more than either of those preceding it, seems to include *all things which have power*. And so in our text, by “the powers of the world to come,” we may understand whatever in that world is powerful, either in reality or by influence.

To *taste* of these powers, is to have a view of eternal things, and feel the impressions and emotions which such a view is suited to produce on the mind and heart of man. It is to know by the test of experience the power and efficacy of the revelation which God has given to man, respecting invisible and eternal things in the world of spirits. Having the eyes of their understanding enlightened, they had looked beyond this present state, and felt that the soul of man is immortal; had contemplated the judgment seat of Christ, and felt that they must appear before it, to give an account of all their moral actions; they had surveyed the state of lost souls, and shuddered in view of their unutterable agonies; they had seen the glory of God as it is in the face of Jesus Christ, and having found him precious, and having been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, they must have had affecting apprehensions of the joys of the heavenly world, and felt, as the Apostle expresses it in this same epistle, that they had “come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel.” Of these divine realities they had not merely been informed, but were convinced by what they themselves had experienced. Having that faith which is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen, they had felt the power of these things on their hearts and conduct; and so had *tasted of the powers of the world to come*.

Most of those who understand the gospel dispensation by “the world to come,” suppose that by tasting of the powers of that world is meant that they were endowed by the Spirit of God with miraculous powers;—a sentiment much more naturally implied in the preceding clause, in which they are expressly said to have been “made partakers of the Holy Ghost.”

6. These persons *had once been renewed unto repentance*. Though this is not directly affirmed, it is plainly implied;

since it is said to be impossible, “if they shall fall away, to renew them *again* (πάλιν) unto repentance.” When our Saviour says: “Whosoever drinketh of this water shall never thirst *again*,” do not his words imply a previous thirsting? And when the Apostle says to the Philippians: “*Again* I say rejoice,” does it not import that he had so said before? So when he speaks of these being renewed “*again* unto repentance,” it is manifest that they are supposed to have already repented. Some, feeling the force of this argument, but being unwilling to admit that the persons spoken of were true Christians, have said that their former repentance could not have been of the right kind, that it must have been merely a worldly sorrow. To this it may be replied, that the original word for repentance (μετάνοιαν) is one which nowhere else is used in this sense, but is the distinguishing term to denote that repentance which the gospel requires. It is the same word which is used in the first verse of this chapter, where the Apostle speaks of “the foundation of repentance from dead works.” Besides, if nothing but a worldly sorrow were meant, wherein would consist the difficulty of bringing them to the exercise of it again? All men, even the most infidel and hardened, will doubtless exercise such sorrow sooner or later. It must then have been true, godly sorrow, evangelical repentance which those of whom the Apostle was speaking had exercised.

This interpretation given to these passages is perfectly agreeable to the context, and indeed necessary to preserve the unity and strength of the discourse. Those whom the Apostle was addressing were “holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling.” His object in this chapter is to persuade them not to rest in their present attainments, but to press forward in the divine life. “Therefore, leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God.” “And this will we do if God permit.” Then occur the words of our text, by way of assigning a reason why they should endeavor thus to go on: “For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened and have tasted of the heavenly gift, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance.” Now if the persons described in the text are those whom the Apostle was exhorting to perseverance, what is said in reference to their apostasy is directly to his purpose, and certainly presents one of the most awakening and forcible considerations

imaginable to induce his Hebrew brethren to go on unto perfection ; since if such persons as they should fall away, there would be no further hope in their case. But if they were quite a different class of persons from those whom he was addressing, what is said of them is irrelevant ; and, instead of strengthening, quite enervates his exhortation. As if he should say : “ Holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, let us go on unto perfection ; for if those who have received great light, but were never true Christians, as I trust we *are*, should fall away, it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance.” Such was not the manner of Paul.

In the verses immediately succeeding the text, the Apostle presses his exhortation in a different way : “ The earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for those by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God ; but that which beareth thorns and briers is rejected and nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned. But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak.” These last expressions do not imply, as some would have them, that he hoped better things of his brethren than that they had been enlightened, etc. ! or were like the good soil which bringeth forth useful herbs and receiveth blessing from God ; but he hoped better things of them than that they should apostatize, and be like the ground which bringeth forth briers and thorns, whose end is to be burned.

In view of reasons so various, so consentaneous, coming so directly to the same result, we must believe that the persons characterized by the Apostle in our text were true believers in Christ. Probably no other opinion would ever have been advanced had it not been for what is subsequently said of their falling away.

II. WHAT IS SUPPOSED WITH RESPECT TO THESE PERSONS ? The hypothesis is contained in these words : “ *If they shall fall away.*” Some have found fault with the translators for having rendered the passage in this way. They say that the original word *παρὰ πεισίστας* being in a past tense, as the other words in connection with it are, ought like them to have been rendered in past time, “ And yet *have fallen away.*” It is admitted that this would be more literal, but not that it would make any material alteration in the sense. For in case of the proposed rendering, the phrase ought not to be considered as declaring a historical fact, but only as furnishing a statement for the sake of an argument.

Examples of this mode of reasoning, expressed both in present and future time, are very common. It is equally proper, whenever it better suits the connection, that such statements should be made in terms denoting time past. "But the younger widows refuse; because, when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry; having damnation, because *they have cast off* their first faith." 1 Tim. 5: 11, 12. Here the verb ἡθέτησαν, "*have cast off*," is in the indicative form, and past tense, and yet it must evidently be taken hypothetically, not as declaring that they had then already cast off their first faith, and received damnation, but that it would be so when they should have begun to wax wanton against Christ. So in Heb. 10: 29, where the Apostle says: "Of how much sorer punishment suppose ye shall he be thought worthy who *hath trodden under foot* (καταπατήσας) the Son of God," etc. It is not a declaration that any one had done so, however true that might be; but is only a case supposed, to show the guilt and danger of so doing. We may therefore safely allow, that our translators have given the true sense, though not the precise form of the original term. Beza has it: "*Si prolabantur*,"—*if they have fallen away*; Castalio: "*Et tamen relabuntur*,"—*and yet relapse*. They did not suppose the Apostle to be declaring a historical fact, but, as has been said, supposing a case.

What then is meant by this falling away? It must mean something more than such falling as all Christians have daily occasion to lament; else none can be saved. It must mean something more than to fall as David and Peter did; for they both were renewed again unto repentance. It is evident that a complete defection or falling away from the state described must be intended. If they should shut their eyes against the light of divine revelation; cease to be illuminated by the Spirit, and revert to their former state of darkness; lose their relish for the heavenly gift, and no longer esteem Christ to be precious; should so resist and grieve the Holy Ghost as to deprive themselves of his inhabitation and miraculous powers; lose all delight in the word of God, and no longer be influenced by the realities of the world to come; and relapse into their former state of impenitency, unbelief and hardness of heart;—then would they be in the state supposed;—then might it be said, with the strictest propriety, that they had *fallen away*.

Some perceiving that this *must* be what is meant by falling away, and yet believing that God has promised that none of his

saints shall thus fall, have thought the supposition here made to be proof that the persons spoken of could not be true Christians. But if we search the Scriptures, we shall find that such suppositions in regard to believers, and warnings founded on them, are frequent, especially in the writings of Paul. In this very epistle, which was undeniably addressed to supposed Christians, we find numerous examples. Indeed, to warn his brethren against apostasy, and excite them to go forward in the divine life appears to have been the Apostle's main design. "How shall we escape," he says, "if we neglect so great salvation?" "Let us labor, therefore, to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief." "If we sin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries." If then the Apostle does, in other passages, address true Christians in this manner, the supposition of apostasy in our text can be no proof that those concerning whom it is made, are not true Christians.

Some have maintained that the supposition of apostasy, in this passage and others like it, implies that the salvation of those concerning whom it is made,—of true believers, if these were such,—cannot be certain, even in the purpose of God. But the inference is not legitimate. For how does it appear that God might not from eternity have purposed that this very warning against falling away should be the effectual means of preventing it? When God said: "If the heavens above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out beneath, I will also cast off the seed of Israel for all that they have done." Jer. 31: 12. He did not mean that the thing supposed was possible for *man*, but the contrary. When the Apostle said: "If we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be accursed," it is plainly a case supposed, which was not expected ever to occur. And so when he said to the centurion, with respect to those who were about leaving the foundering vessel: "Except these abide in the ship ye cannot be saved," it did not imply that God had not purposed to save them; for he had said before: "There stood by me this night the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, Fear not Paul; thou must be brought before Cesar, and lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee." God had determined to save

them, and carried that determination into execution by warning them effectually against all measures inconsistent with his purpose. The supposition that the persons described were true believers, militates in nowise against the doctrine of the saints' perseverance. If God has determined that his saints shall persevere unto the end, he of course has determined to preserve them from apostasy; and this not by absolute force, but by means of motives addressed to them as intelligent beings, and made efficacious by the agency of his Spirit on their hearts. God can effectually incline his people to obedience without the least infringement of their free agency. "I will make," he says, "an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them to do them good; but *I will put my fear in their hearts that they shall not depart from me.*" Jer. 32: 40. Warnings to Christians, and God's determination that true Christians shall regard them, surely are things perfectly consistent with each other.

III. WHAT IS AFFIRMED OF THESE PERSONS ON THE SUPPOSITION THAT THEY SHOULD THUS FALL AWAY? Ἀδύνατον—πάλιν ἀνακαινίσκειν εἰς μετάνοιαν,—*it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance.* The repentance here spoken of is that which is evidential of regeneration. This has been already shown. Some translate the passage: "It is impossible to renew them again *by* repentance." But this rendering of εἰς is very unusual, and, in this place, manifestly unnecessary. Man, in his unregenerate condition, being destitute of all gracious affections, never exercises godly sorrow for his sins, until renewed by the Spirit of God. And if those who had been once renewed should so fall away as to lose all holiness, and become a second time dead in trespasses and sins, it would be impossible to renew them again to the exercise of this gracious affection; to bring them any more to the exercise of godly sorrow for their sins. The terms employed evidently refer to some agency from without. For whom, then, would it be impossible to renew them again unto repentance? For the apostles and their fellow servants in the ministry of the gospel? Such a work never was possible for them. They never pretended, in any circumstances, to be able to renew the hearts of men. They always ascribed this work to God. What then can be the meaning of the declaration! That it would be impossible for God to renew them if they should thus fall away? This, it would seem, must be the meaning. But in what sense would it be impossible for God to do this? As it regards physical force,

with him all things are possible. But still God cannot act inconsistently with his nature, his purposes, or his honor. It is impossible for him to do what is wrong. And if impossible to renew those who should fall away, it must be because it would be contrary to his will, incompatible with his plans and his glory, to renew and pardon those who sin against so much light, and cast such contempt on the scheme of redemption. Some have suggested that the term *ἀδύνατον*, rendered *impossible*, denotes here, not absolute impossibility, but only great difficulty. But this, if understood of the apostles, would imply that though difficult, it still was possible for them to renew even apostates; and that they could renew ordinary sinners with comparative ease;—a most unscriptural representation. And if God be regarded as the agent, as he undoubtedly should be, this meaning of the term in question would imply that it is more difficult even for God to renew some than others; which no one can believe. Besides, when *ἀδύνατον* is used impersonally, as it is here, it is the appropriate and most expressive term in the language to express what is absolutely impossible. In this sense the Apostle uses it again in this very chapter; and repeatedly in the course of this epistle. “It is impossible for God to lie.” “It is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins.” “Without faith it is impossible to please God.” So must the expression be understood in the text. If they should fall away, it would be impossible for God to renew them again, because contrary to his purpose and inconsistent with his glory. Having committed a sin which could never be forgiven them, they would be utterly and forever lost.

The only reason assigned for this “severity of God” is expressed in these words: “Seeing they crucify unto themselves the Son of God afresh and put him to an open shame.” Some maintain that the term *ἀνασταυροῦντας*, rendered “*crucify afresh*,” simply means *having crucified*; and that the qualifying word, *afresh*, is gratuitously supplied by the translators. But when it is considered that the Greek particle *ἀνὰ* in composition not unfrequently implies repetition, like *re* in Latin, (see Robinson’s Lexicon,) and that this is the only instance in the New Testament in which it is joined with the radical word *σταυρώω*, as if with design to qualify its meaning, and that the sense given by the translators entirely suits the connection, it is to be preferred.* He had once been crucified by their brethren at

* It has been said, that “this is not conformable to Greek

Jerusalem, and they are warned against becoming partakers in their enormous guilt by doing the same thing afresh; not literally, for that was impossible, but virtually, by manifesting a like spirit of hostility and malevolence. The qualifying phrase “unto themselves” (ἐαυτοῖς) undoubtedly means, *to their own injury*. It is an example of *dativus incommodi*. In Matt. 23: 31 we have a parallel example: ὥστε μαρτυρεῖτε ἐαυτοῖς,—“thus ye testify against yourselves.” Campbell. See also Rom. 13: 2: Ἐαυτοῖς κρίμα λήφονται,—“they shall receive to themselves damnation.”

Should they thus fall away, it might be said of them, not only that they had crucified afresh the Son of God, but that they had put him *to an open shame*, or exposed him to public ignominy and contempt. Having once publicly professed faith in him, and been received by him as his true disciples, been highly exalted in religious privileges, if they should fall away, renounce their faith in Christianity, and, consequently, virtually declare Christ to have been an impostor, who deserved crucifixion; they would, so far as their influence might extend, bring reproach on his name, on his gospel, and encourage others to despise and avoid him. They would declare by their conduct, that having made trial of Christianity, having possessed all the light respecting it which can be obtained in this world, having received Christ by faith, been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, tasted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, they were convinced that all these things were delusive and contemptible; and that Christ himself, the professed Son of God, was an impostor. They would as really make an ignominious example of him, as those did who literally crucified him, and bowed the knee in derision before him. They did it ignorantly, in unbelief. But if these should apostatize, they would do it understandingly; contrary to their own consciences, to their own experimental and certain knowledge of the truth; and would, therefore, be permanently and unpardonably guilty. To treat the glorious Son of God in this manner would therefore seal their eternal damna-

usage.” The student may easily satisfy himself by examination. In some cases *ἀνά* produces no apparent change in the meaning of the verb with which it is compounded. In others it increases its intensity. And again, *it denotes repetition* of the motive. In proof of this many examples might be cited.

tion. That nothing less is intended is apparent from other passages in this same epistle. "That which beareth thorns and briers is nigh unto cursing; whose end is to be burned." "For if we sin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, thereremaineth no moresacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries." This declaration then, that "it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh and put him to an open shame," gives an awful emphasis to the Apostle's warning against apostasy, and renders it one of the most alarming and efficacious, ever pronounced. It is one which true Christians cannot disregard. God will cause them to fear and heed it, and so work out their salvation with fear and trembling.

ARTICLE VIII.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, etc.* By J. H. Merle d'Aubigné, Pres. of the Theological School of Geneva, and Member of the Société Evangelique. Volumes I. and II. First American from the fifth London Edition. New-York & Brooklyn: Robert Carter. 1841. pp. 390, 400.

THE present attitude of Protestantism is altogether anomalous. If we had spoken in praise or in defence of the Reformation, a few months ago, we should have regarded ourselves as giving utterance to acknowledged truisms. But now Protestants are renouncing their birth-right; and, not content with this, they are striving to wrest from others an inheritance which is hallowed by the associations, and enriched by the improvements of centuries. Amid all the light and piety of the nineteenth century, the Reformation is assailed in the house of its friends. Learning, talent and influence are leading on the attack, with the confidence which is inspired by anticipated victory. We are about to be driven back to the stormy times of Luther, Melancthon and Zwingli. Soon we shall be forced to muster ourselves on the old battle-field; and though we shall meet a new enemy, the question at issue will be the same.

In these circumstances we look upon the publication and the success of this *History of the Reformation* as a favorable omen. It is just the book which we need for general circulation ; and it is destined, we have no doubt, to become a universal favorite. To thousands, who are but slenderly acquainted with the greatest event in modern history, it will impart a knowledge, sufficiently accurate and eminently salutary. We hazard nothing in saying that these volumes will be extensively read, and when read they will be remembered ; for almost the first thing, which arrests the attention on their perusal, is the vivid impression which they make upon the memory. The author's talent at description is extraordinary. He is like one who holds up to our view a succession of pictures, distinctly drawn and not easily forgotten. As we follow the great Reformer step by step, we are confident that we see the very man,—Dr. Martin Luther, the monk, the preacher, the disputant, the antagonist of princes, kings, emperors, nuncios and popes, always, however, the fearless defender of the truth as it is in Jesus.

M. Merle D'Aubigné has other qualifications,—some that we should hardly expect to find in the same individual,—for writing the *History of the Reformation*. His long residence in Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands, his thorough knowledge of the language of these countries give him advantages which very few possess. The original documents illustrative of this interesting epoch have thus been placed within his reach ; and it would be superfluous to say that he has been unwearied in his endeavors to arrive at the truth. In addition to all this, the author has a heart that beats in unison with the spirit of the reformers. He can appreciate their love of the doctrines of the cross, for he has felt their power. That great truth,—the corner stone of the Reformation, and of the church of Christ,—justification by faith, is as dear to him as it was to the inquiring monk of Erfurt. Expressions and actions, that would be mysterious to another, are perfectly intelligible to him.

But our author's sympathy with the Reformers has not been allowed to interfere with his fidelity. At the close of his Preface, he remarks : "From what I have said, it will be seen that I believe the Reformation to be the work of God. Nevertheless, as its historian, I hope to be impartial. I think I have spoken of the principal Roman Catholic actors in the great drama,—Leo X., Albert of Magdeburg, Charles V., Doctor Eck, etc.,—more favorably than the majority of historians. And, on the other hand, I have had no wish to conceal the faults and errors of the Reformers."

We have been so much pleased with these volumes that we are disinclined to qualify our praise. We will barely observe that the author is sometimes unnecessarily minute. The vividness of his sketches would have been increased by condensation. We should have also preferred a more frequent reference to authorities. This, we are aware, is not essential in a popular history; still it would have enhanced the value of the work.

2.—*The History of Christianity from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire.* By the Rev. H. H. Milman, Prebendary of St. Peter's, and Minister of St. Margaret's, Westminster. With a Preface and Notes. By James Murdock, D. D. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1841. One Vol. large 8vo. pp. 528.

The author of this work makes a distinction between the history of *Christianity* and the history of *the Church*. The former, he says, "has usually assumed the form of a history of the Church, more or less controversial, and confined itself to the annals of the internal feuds and divisions in the Christian community, and the variations in doctrine and discipline, rather than to its *political and social influences*. Our attention, on the other hand, will be chiefly directed to its *effects on the social and even political condition of man*." He accordingly endeavors to portray the genius of Christianity, in every age in connection with that of the age itself; to show the reciprocal influence of Christianity on civilization and of civilization on Christianity. The work, then, was not intended to be an *ecclesiastical history*, in the ordinary sense of the term. And yet it bears a genuine historical character. It enters into those details of actual occurrences which the author judges to be the most generally interesting in their secular relations and influences; and thus in fact gives a pretty full history of the *Church*, as well as of *Christianity*. But the grand peculiarity of the author's plan, and his leading object, are to trace the *influence* of Christianity on the individual and social happiness of man; on the polity, the laws and institutions, the opinions, the manners, the arts and literature of the Christian world.

From the first announcement of this plan, it has struck us as a design of great value to the cause of Christian knowledge; and from the character of the author, as well as from several favorable notices and reviews of his work which have appeared in the British periodicals, we were prepared to welcome its appearance from the American press. It is brought out by

Harper and Brothers, in good style, and the "Preface and Notes" by Dr. Murdock, though not voluminous, add not a little to the historical value of the work. We have read a large portion of it, and most gratefully acknowledge that our raised expectations have been fully answered. The learning and the indefatigable industry of the author are worthy of the highest praise; and his style, though sometimes obscure, is often glowing and splendid, in keeping with his reputation as a poet, as well as a historian.

The work begins with the history of the state and forms of Pagan religion and philosophy, at the coming of Christ, and takes up, in their order, the following leading topics: The Life of Jesus Christ, with the state of Judea and the belief of the Jews in the Messiah; the successive years of Christ's public life; the Resurrection; Christianity and Judaism;—and Paganism;—and Orientalism; then, after following the history of Christianity through all the changes of the Roman empire to the close of the period indicated on the title-page, he takes a general review of that empire under Christianity, and closes with a succession of chapters on the public observances, spectacles and ceremonies of the church and the empire, the history of Christian literature, Christianity and the fine arts, with a Conclusion embracing valuable reflective remarks upon the history thus far, and the providential preparation of Christianity to enter the dark ages of European history as "the great conservative principle of religion, knowledge and humanity, and of the highest degrees of civilization of which the age was capable, during centuries of violence, of ignorance and of barbarism."

In the filling up of this outline the most difficult and delicate part of the author's work was his attempt to write the "Life of Christ." The language, the method, the simplicity of the Evangelists are so incorporated with our earliest associations and with the thoughts and language of Christendom, that to exhibit them under new forms, excites in most minds a sense of incongruity and desecration; and Mr. Milman's effort to reconstruct the materials of this portion of Scripture strikes us as a failure. This, however, is perhaps a proof of the impracticability of the subject rather than of any deficiency of talent in the author. But we doubt the necessity of the attempt in carrying out his general plan. The materials, as they stand in the Evangelists, were as available for his purpose as in the form which he has given them. Mr. Milman, however, remarks in his preface that if, at any time he "entertained doubts as to the expediency of including a historical view of the life

of the Saviour in the history of his religion, those doubts were set at rest by the appearance of the recent work of Strauss in Germany. His remarks on the "Life of Jesus," as well as on the nearly contemporary work of Dr. H. Weisse, are placed in several appendices and notes, and contain a valuable, though perhaps not a sufficiently thorough, refutation of the mythical theory of these German writers. In this relation his vindication of the Divinity of the Saviour is by no means an unimportant part of his work. And as a whole we regard this history as justly entitled to the high character of a standard work. It is not in all respects as we could wish. The author in his great liberality to the German writers, to whom he acknowledges his indebtedness, has allowed himself to be influenced in some degree by the skeptical tendency of their philosophy. But as a history, his work is generally impartial and candid, as well as learned and amply supported by the best authorities.

- 3.—*Visit to Northern Europe ; or Sketches, Descriptive, Historical, Political and Moral, of Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, and the Free Cities of Hamburg and Lubeck ; containing Notices of the Manners and Customs, Commerce, Manufactures, Arts and Sciences, Education, Literature and Religion, of those Countries and Cities. By Robert Baird. With Maps and numerous Engravings. In two Volumes. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1841. pp. 347, 350.*

A title so long and particular might seem to be a sufficient *index* to the numerous and miscellaneous subjects of the work to which it is prefixed. But our friend Mr. Baird has chosen to be still more explicit. On opening these volumes, we are greeted with eighteen pages of *Contents*, presenting a pretty full analysis of the work, and spreading before the reader a bill of fare which is by no means stinted or unattractive. Then follows a well executed map of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, with the Baltic Sea, the Gulf of Bothnia and the outlines of Finland on the East ; presenting the whole country occupied by the ancient Scandinavian nations. The principal towns of these countries our author has twice visited, first in 1836, and again in 1840, and passed over considerable portions of their territory and of their waters. His opportunities of personal observation have thus been, we think, quite sufficient to justify his attempt to describe those hyperborean regions, where, —if we may credit the legends of Scandinavia,—the Goths, or Scythians, planted themselves some 2000 years before the

Christian era; whither Odin is said to have arrived,—B. C. 70,—and was followed by a long succession of kings fabled to have been half divine, and whose apotheosis was confirmed by their deaths; and where the Northmen, in succeeding times, emerging from the mist and darkness of their mythological history, have left traces of their bold adventures both by sea and land, and have at length taken their place among the civilized and Christian nations of modern Europe. A sketch of the history of such a people, with an account of their manners, customs, institutions, etc., by one who has enjoyed their hospitality and travelled over a considerable portion of their picturesque and romantic countries, cannot fail to be interesting, and especially to American readers; for some portions of our own country, we are assured, strikingly resembles those lands of the Northmen.

In addition to his personal knowledge of the countries he describes, Mr. Baird has availed himself of the researches of numerous authors, among whom are Mr. Wheaton, Mr. Laing and others, and has thus collected a mass of materials more ample, perhaps, for the construction of a popular history than any of the modern travellers who have preceded him. Those countries, particularly Sweden, have attracted much attention of late, and numerous works, on portions of Northern Europe, have appeared in England, Germany and France, within a few years, both historical and descriptive. But the volumes before us are more full and satisfactory on topics of interest to American readers, and will doubtless answer a purpose which could not have been attained by the reprint of any of the foreign works in this country.

It would be in vain, in the space allowed to this notice, to attempt a particular analysis of these volumes. The subjects of the author's brief and running descriptions are too numerous for us even to name. He dwells especially upon the history and description of the countries and cities named on the title-page, beginning with Hamburg and Lubeck, which to us are the least interesting portions of his work, and proceeding to the northern countries. These countries, considered historically, present many curious and interesting lessons of instruction to the scholar, the statesman and the Christian; and the story of their progress from the lowest degrees of barbarism, or at least from a state of mythical obscurity, to their present enlightened condition, is so interwoven with the history of the whole of Europe, and even with the first discovery of our own country, that a knowledge of it seems essential to a right understanding of the origin, and the historical and political rela

tions of all the other nations of Europe and America. But the present condition of the countries described in this work is a theme of still more interesting contemplation. "We do not believe," says Mr. Baird, "that any other countries in the world, of a proportionate population, have developed so much talent and so much literary enterprise, as both Denmark and Sweden have done during the last fifty or sixty years;" and in this remark Norway is associated with the former and Finland with the latter. Within the same period also great improvements have been made in the political, civil, physical and moral conditions of these countries. Norway is now a free state, with a constitution modelled in a great degree after that of our own government, and her example is exerting a powerful influence on the Danes and Swedes, who seem prepared for much greater political ameliorations than they have yet experienced. Their religious condition is also such as at once to excite our commiseration and encouragement; and we cannot but hope that, in the progress of political reform, that separation of church and state will be effected, which the experience of our own country has shown to be so essential to the best interests of both.

On the whole, we have found ourselves deeply interested in the perusal of the work before us. To those of our readers who are not already familiar with the history and description of the countries to which it relates, we cheerfully recommend it. The author is well known to the American public as a zealous and efficient laborer in the cause of philanthropy and religion, and it was in the prosecution of several objects of benevolence, especially the cause of Temperance, that he made his journeys to Northern Europe. His statements may doubtless be relied on as correct, so far as he has given himself time for suitable examination of authorities; and we may add that the principal attractiveness of his volumes, as well as their value, consists in the variety of interesting topics to which they relate. He does not excel in description, and the reader will have occasion to regret the hurried manner in which this work has been prepared for the press. The interest attached to the countries described, and the importance and variety of the materials to be served up, would have demanded of the author, under any other circumstances than those of imperious necessity, more time and care to condense and arrange the mass of information he has given us, and thus to render his descriptions less prolix and repetitious. The work, however, is well worthy of perusal and will be found an acceptable gift of the author to his native country. It is handsomely got up

by the publisher, and the numerous engravings, while they illustrate the scenes from which they are drawn, add to the attractiveness of the volumes.

4.—*The French Revolution : A History in Three Volumes. By Thomas Carlyle. Three Volumes in Two. Second American from the Second London Edition. New-York: William Kerr & Co. Boston: C. C. Little & J. Brown. Philadelphia: T. Cowperthwaite & Co. 1841. pp. 431, 474.*

To one who has never read any of Mr. Carlyle's writings we should despair of success in attempting to convey an adequate idea of his peculiarities. His style of thought and expression are not only his own, but they are so unlike those of any other writer of the English tongue, that they are incapable of being illustrated by example in the whole range of our literature. His productions have exceedingly puzzled the critics both of the old and the new world. That his style is faulty in a high degree,—that it outrages all the laws of rhetoric, as established by the usage of the best writers, and that no man can attempt to imitate it but at the expense of his reputation for good sense and correct taste,—is now universally admitted. Yet Carlyle himself is an original, and as such he commands the toleration of the literary public, and even the admiration of many who would wage relentless war against the eccentricity, the affectation and the mannerism of his style, were they found anywhere but in the writings of this one man. But here they belong to himself. They are perhaps essential to the filling up of his character; and if these exuberances could be destroyed, it would probably be with greater loss than gain; and so both readers and critics are beginning to adopt the conclusion that, in this case as in many others where remedy is impracticable, it is wise to

“Do as they do in Spain,
Let it rain.”

The reader may of course expect to find, in this history of the French Revolution, a singular, an eccentric production. It is unlike all other histories in prose. It is a prose epic, the plan of which was suggested by the thrilling and fearful events and transactions of that “reign of terror.” He accordingly groups his materials by a different law from that of their succession in time, and thus, by connecting the more trivial details with the prominent events, he clothes the whole story

with an interest, which the ordinary style of narrative never produces. And the conception is not only epical, but the plot is developed with wit and irony, which to a reader somewhat familiar with the events referred to will appear to be well sustained. And, withal, Mr. Carlyle is a serious writer. In the language of an English reviewer, "Duty,—the duty of acting,—in however small a sphere, it is his perpetual task to preach;" and he preaches it too with an earnestness, with which the wildest playfulness in details seldom interferes. On the whole, then, we strongly recommend the reading of this "great work" of Carlyle,—not as a history, but as an epic description of the French Revolution. It will wake up the mind to new and more vivid impressions of the scenes of that age of confusion than any history we have read. The edition before us is got up in a very neat and economical style of execution.

5.—*Sacred Lyrics, or Psalms and Hymns, adapted to Public Worship. Selected by Nathan S. S. Beman.* Troy, N. Y.: A. Kidder. 1841. pp. 648.

So many attempts have been made, and failed, within the last thirty years, to prepare a complete collection of Sacred Songs for public worship, that we have been accustomed, of late, to receive with caution every accession to the number of our books of Psalms and Hymns. Yet we have felt the need of a better book of this sort, than any one of the great variety now in use in our churches. Dr. Beman has turned his attention to this subject, with his usual energy and perseverance, and has prepared a work which it is hoped will supply the deficiency. His plan and the principles upon which he has made his selections, as exhibited in his preface, are certainly good, and indicate a mind thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his design, while his long experience, good sense and taste would lead us to expect no mean result from the labor he has bestowed upon this undertaking. And having examined a large number of his Psalms and Hymns, we are happy to say, our expectations have not been disappointed. The book contains one or more versifications of each of the 150 Psalms of David, and 720 Hymns. "In the arrangement of the Psalms, Dr. Watts is the leading author. Many other versifications of high merit have been selected from Doddridge, Steele, Kenn, Newton, Montgomery, Conder and others, which have been arranged in their proper places with those of Watts, so that, it is believed, this part of the volume presents a greater number and a richer variety of Psalms adapted to singing, than

any book yet published in our language." The author further remarks, that it has been his aim in respect to Watts' Psalms, "not to throw away a single stanza of superior merit," while "whole Psalms, of inferior and prosaic character," and which are rarely if ever sung, "have been omitted" and others substituted in their places.

"The Hymns," says our author, "have been selected from the productions of the best writers of this species of poetry in our language." For the purpose of making his work as perfect as possible, he claims to have spent much time and labor in examining the best editions of the productions referred to, and to have made only such alterations and omissions as were imperatively demanded by a due regard to the principles of his compilation. The Hymns are arranged according to a proper succession of subjects in an order which is not only intelligible, but perspicuous; and the volume is accompanied with a complete Index of the first lines, and also one of subjects, which is as nearly perfect as it could well be made.

We do not hesitate to express our opinion as decidedly favorable to the claims of this book, and recommend it to the attention of pastors and the leaders of choirs, as worthy of their examination. We have marked a few errors in the printing, and would advise the author, in bringing out another edition, to look well to his proof-sheets.

6.—*A Treatise on Domestic Economy, for the Use of Young Ladies at Home, and at School. By Miss Catherine E. Beecher, late Principal of the Hartford Female Seminary.* Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon & Webb. 1841. pp. 465.

Miss Beecher makes a respectful apology for appearing before the public on a subject for which, in the judgment of her friends, she possesses peculiar qualifications. It may be remarked also that our author has entered upon her work with a feeling of deep earnestness, and, as we believe, with a sincere desire to make her experience, and extensive observation and study, available for the best good of the rising generation of American women. It is no fancy-work which she has undertaken. As a sensible woman and a Christian, she has set herself about doing good; and has written a book which all judicious mothers and female instructors will be glad to put into the hands of their daughters and pupils. It is on the whole a very sensible book. It contains, it is true, a great many things which are familiar to our best housekeepers, and in respect to which every "wise woman," who "buildeth her

house," has instructed her daughters. But even these things may be read with profit, as they tend to confirm the lessons of the well-instructed, while, to multitudes of young ladies whose domestic education has been neglected, they may be found indispensable to their due preparation for the duties and responsibilities of domestic life; and much of what our author communicates in this volume has been derived from a wider field of inquiry than has been accessible to most mothers and teachers, and will be found instructive to all. Some may complain that she has gone too minutely into the details of little matters, such as keeping a clean handkerchief when nursing the sick, wetting the lip of the vial in dropping medicine, etc. etc.; but these little matters are not without their importance, and it is well for our daughters to be reminded of the minutest things, which may contribute to the perfection of their preparation for all the duties of those future domestic circles of which they are destined to be the centres, either of attraction or repulsion. We may add also that the scientific part of this work is communicated in a plain and intelligible form, and several anatomical illustrations are added which are suited to impress the lessons which it inculcates on the subjects of Physiology and the care of health. As a whole, we commend the work to mothers and daughters, as eminently fitted to be useful.

7.—*Ancient Spanish Ballads; Historical and Romantic. Translated, with Notes, by J. G. Lockhart, Esq. A New Edition Revised; with an Introductory Essay on the Origin, Antiquity, Character and Influence of the Ancient Ballads of Spain; and an Analytical Account, with specimens of the Romance of the Cid.* New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1842. pp. 272, 8vo.

This beautiful volume is introduced by the following advertisement: "In reproducing the English version of the *Ancient Spanish Ballads*, it may be proper to observe that the late London edition has been strictly followed, no departure whatever being made from Mr. Lockhart's text. To add to the interest of the volume, the spirited article from the *Edinburgh Review* is given by way of Preliminary Essay; an analytical account of the *Romance of the Cid*, etc.; and at the end has been placed a Bibliographical List, prepared for the present edition, of the books containing the original Ballads, and of writings pertaining to the whole subject."

This work, then, is brought before the American public in

its most perfect form. The Preliminary Essay, from the Edinburgh, fills thirty-four pages of the volume, and is not only valuable in itself, but may be regarded as indispensable to the right understanding of the subjects and imagery of the Ballads. It sketches in a lively and brilliant manner the history of Spain and of Spanish literature up to the sixteenth century, when the oldest of these ballads were published, though the date of their composition cannot now be ascertained. They are here presented in an English dress, and are better fitted to let the reader into the real spirit of the times which produced them than any other form of history. To the ballads of rude and struggling nations must we go for the most instructive lessons of anthropology which the world has produced; and the ballads of Spain, mingling in their composition the brilliancy of Arabian imagination with the flowers of Castilian romance, are especially worthy of study. "They are now rendered indigenous," says the writer of the Preliminary Essay; "transplanted by the genius of Mr. Lockhart, they have taken deep root and flourish in our harder climate; and in truth the soil is congenial. Their manly tone of liberty and independence, their reflective and somewhat saddened turn, their sincere religious character, their sterling loyalty, patriotism and love of country never will find a truer echo than in honest English hearts."

8.—*Fragments from the German Prose Writers. Translated by Sarah Austin; with Biographical Sketches of the Authors.* New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841. pp. 365.

This is an elegant reprint of an English publication of deserved popularity. Mrs. Austin has been known for several years, in this country as well as in Great Britain, as an accomplished translator of German. She has succeeded,—as few have done,—in detaching the conceptions of genius and the researches of learning from their original drapery, and clothing them in chaste and truthful English. These "Fragments" have been taken from a great variety of writers, with little unity of plan, but with genuine taste, and an earnest desire to honor a people that she greatly admires. Not a few of them are exceedingly beautiful,—gems of rare lustre, and worthy to be numbered among things that will never die. They will do much to correct the erroneous impressions of some in respect to the literature of Germany. Many have supposed that this country has been fruitful, hitherto, of nothing but

dreamy metaphysics, lifeless pedantry, or "romantic horrors." But these "Fragments" will show that the Germans have imagination, taste, eloquence, a childlike love of nature, with no common power of painting her in all her phases. We are not sure, however, that others may not be led by the perusal of these extracts to place too high an estimate on the treasures of German literature. It was long ago thought to be a singular mode of selling a house for the owner to carry about a brick as a sample. But that would be much safer than to test the literature of a people by a few excerpts. For one brick, though it must give but a faint idea of the entire building, will resemble every other brick in the edifice. But one selection of thought or taste may have no fellow in all that remains; nay, it may sparkle with pure and pleasing brilliancy, while every thing else is distorted and repulsive. We are constrained to say that this is true, to a lamentable extent, of some of the writers in this volume. We have no wish to see their works made known to American readers except in "fragments."

9.—*The Biblical Cabinet; or Hermeneutical, Exegetical and Philological Library. Volume XXVII.* Edinburgh: Thomas Clark. 1840. pp. 352.

The nature and design of the Biblical Cabinet are already familiar to our readers. It is a work of undoubted merit, and deserves to be encouraged in this country as well as in Great Britain. The present volume is devoted to *the Mineralogy and Botany of the Bible*, by E. F. C. Rosenmüller, D. D. It is a translation from the German, with additional notes, by T. G. Repp and Rev. N. Morren. The original forms a part of Rosenmüller's *Biblische Naturgeschichte*, being the first half of the fourth volume of his *Handbuch der biblischen Alterthumskunde*,—a work of which a portion has already appeared in the Biblical Cabinet, under the title of "The Biblical Geography of Central Asia." The topics discussed in this volume disclose its character. They are as follows: Earth, Earths, and other Mineral Substances; Stones and Rocks; Precious Stones; Metals; Plants in General,—their constituents, life and classification; Grain and Leguminous Plants; Kitchen Vegetables and Garden Plants used for food; Plants growing wild, Flowers and Shrubs; Plants from which odorous Resins and Oils are prepared; Flax and Cotton; Marsh Plants; Thorns and Thistles; Vines; Trees; Manna. It is unnecessary to speak of the importance of these subjects to the Biblical student.

- 10.—*An Inquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church, that flourished within the first three hundred years after Christ; faithfully collected out of the Fathers and extant writings of those ages. By Peter King, Lord High Chancellor of England. With an Introduction by the American Editor.* New-York: Published by G. Lane & P. P. Sanford, for the Methodist Episcopal Church. 1841. pp. 300.

The publication of this treatise has been followed by very important results. It led to the overthrow of the strong high-church prejudices of John Wesley, and thus prepared the way for the distinct organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. In his journal for January 20, 1746, he says: "I read over Lord King's account of the primitive church. In spite of the vehement prejudice of my education, I was ready to believe that this was a fair and impartial draught; but if so it would follow that bishops and presbyters are (essentially) of one order, and that originally every Christian congregation was a church independent on all others." He wrote to Dr. Coke and others in this country, September 10, 1784: "Lord King's account of the primitive church convinced me, many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain."

Lord King was the nephew of John Locke, by whose advice he was sent to the University of Leyden. At that time his attention was directed to the study of theology. He was only twenty-two years of age when the first part of the following "Inquiry" was published. On his return from Leyden he became a student in the Inner Temple, and soon rose to eminence in his profession. He retained his fondness for theology, however, and published his *History of the Apostles' Creed* in 1702. On the accession of George I., he was appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; in 1725 he received the Great Seal, which he resigned in 1733,—just before his death.

The design of the author in this treatise is to set forth the constitution, discipline, unity and worship of the church as they existed in the first three centuries. He shows great familiarity with the writings of that period, and presents the results of his "Inquiry" with candor and precision. It would be easy to point out occasional inaccuracies; but his most important conclusions are not to be shaken.

- 11.—*Anti-Popery ; or Popery Unreasonable, Unscriptural and Novel.* By John Rogers, Member of the Society of Friends, and Counsellor at Law. With a Preface, Notes and Index, by Rev. C. Sperry of New-York, Minister of the Reformed Church. First American from the Second London Edition, enlarged and corrected. New-York: D. Fanshaw. 1841. pp. 315.

This is a singular, but truly valuable work. Mr. Rogers has a mode of dressing up an argument which is altogether his own. His style is characterized by strength, precision, directness and a considerable mixture of quaintness. In the last particular he has sometimes erred. He has taken the liberty of coining a number of words, not only without necessity, but without any satisfactory reason. For church he invariably employs "kirk;" "primaty" for primacy; "papite" and "Romanite" for papist and Romanist; "perhap" for perhaps; "now-after" for hereafter. He also uses "priestal," "priestulive;" "politikirkal," "politikirkalian," "popan," "sororially." But the argument is managed with fairness, courtesy and unusual ability. It presents the points at issue between Romanism and Protestantism, distinctly and fully; and then conducts the reader to a conclusion which is impregnable. A reference to the nineteen sections of "Popery in Special" will show the comprehensiveness of the discussion. They are as follows: Papal Primaty; Infallibility; Vulgate, Apocrypha, Traditions; Knowledge a proscribed thing, and the Bible a forbidden book; Unknown Tongue, or Latin the general language of Popery; Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Mass; The Worship of the Host; Half Communion, or no Cup to the Laity; Idolatry; Merit; Purgatory and praying for the Dead; Priestal Absolution and Excommunication; Auricular Confession; Celibate of the Clergy; the Seven Sacraments; Priestal Intention; Superstition; Blasphemy.

- 12.—*Delineation of Roman Catholicism, drawn from the authentic and acknowledged Standards of the Church of Rome; namely, her Creeds, Catechisms, Decisions of Councils, Papal Bulls, Roman Catholic Writers, the Records of History, etc., etc.; in which the peculiar Doctrines, Morals, Government and Usages of the Church of Rome are stated, treated at large and confuted.* By Rev. Charles Elliott, D. D. In two Volumes. New-York: Published by George Lane, for the Methodist Episcopal Church. 1841. pp. 492.

From the Preface to the first of these volumes, which is da-

ted "Cincinnati, Ohio, February 22, 1841,"—we learn that the author has given much of his time, for the last twenty-two years, to the examination of the controversy between Protestants and Romanists. During the whole of this period he has been collecting the materials of the present work. "His early associations," he informs us, "and circumstances in life were also favorable to an intimate acquaintance with the subject." The doctrines of the Catholics, as here exhibited, are derived from their own creeds, catechisms, councils, bulls, standard writers, etc.; this book may be regarded, therefore, as a condensed, *authentic* representation of the manifold errors and absurdities of their system. This, indeed, is the principal excellency of these volumes. They are inferior in logical acuteness and power to Rogers' *Anti-Popery*, mentioned in the preceding notice, and to other works which we might mention; but they contain a very full and fair description of Romanism, drawn up from the testimony of its own witnesses. It may be of essential service to those who wish to ascertain the real tenets of Romanism, but have not the means of consulting larger works.

- 13.—*American Antiquities and Researches into the Origin and History of the Red Race*. By Alexander W. Bradford. New-York: Dayton & Saxton. Boston: Saxton & Pierce. 1841. pp. 435.

The ante-Columbian history of America offers one of the most interesting and complicated problems of the present day. Our continent is profusely dotted with the memorials of a great people. The mounds, pyramids, temples, palaces, which neither the desolations of conquest nor the ravages of time have wholly obliterated, indicate a boldness of purpose and a skill and energy of execution which are truly wonderful. But *when, how and whence* came these ancient wanderers to our shores? Authentic history returns no answer. And then their disappearance is hardly less mysterious than their advent. The monuments of their toil and ingenuity still survive. But where are the nations or the tribes to which they bequeathed their civilization? The Indian of the present day has not even a tradition that establishes his connection with the mound-builders and pyramid-builders of earlier days. Indeed we are constantly reminded, when looking back to these wonderful men, of that ancient king of Salem who was "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life."

The volume before us does not profess to bring forward any new discoveries. It simply aims at collecting the light which we have already, and at concentrating this light upon the different hypotheses, which have been advanced for the explanation of existing phenomena. In pursuance of this plan, Part I. is devoted exclusively to American Antiquities. These are divided into two classes;—the first including remains of more recent origin, “which have manifestly proceeded from an uncivilized people,” and the second embracing those older monuments in the United States, Mexico, Central America and South America, which must be referred to nations of great cultivation. It is hardly necessary to observe that the author has brought together, and exhibited in a small compass, the most important discoveries which have been hitherto made. Part II. contains an elaborate examination of the claims of different nations in the old world to be regarded as the progenitors of the aborigines of America. In it the author also discusses the mode by which their passage to this country was effected.

We will state his conclusions in his own language: “1. The three great groups of monumental antiquities in the United States, New Spain and South America, in their style and character present indications of having proceeded from branches of the same human family. 2. These nations were a rich, populous, civilized and agricultural people; constructed extensive cities, roads, aqueducts, fortifications and temples; were skilled in the arts of pottery, metallurgy and sculpture; had attained an accurate knowledge of the science of astronomy; were possessed of a national religion, subjected to the salutary control of a definite system of laws, and were associated under regular forms of government. 3. From the uniformity of their physical appearance; from the possession of relics of the art of hieroglyphic painting; from universal analogies in their language, religion, traditions and methods of interring the dead; and from the general prevalence of certain arbitrary customs, nearly all the aborigines appear to be of the same descent and origin; and that the barbarous tribes are the broken, scattered and degraded remnants of a society originally more enlightened and cultivated. 4. Two distinct ages may be pointed out in the history of the civilized nations—the first and most ancient, subsisting for a long and indeterminate period in unbroken tranquillity, and marked towards its close by the signs of social decadence; the second, distinguished by national changes, the inroads of barbarous or semi-civilized tribes, the extinction or subjugation of the old

and the foundation of new and more extensive empires. 5. The first seats of civilization were in Central America, whence population was diffused through both continents, from Cape Horn to the Arctic Ocean."

In relation to the question of *origin* he comes to the following result: "The Red race, then, appears to be a *primitive branch of the human family*, to have existed in many portions of the globe, distinguished for early civilization; and to have penetrated at a very ancient period into America. The American family does not appear to be derived from any nation *now existing*; but it is assimilated by numerous analogies to the Etrurians, Egyptians, Mongols, Chinese and Hindoos; it is *most closely* related to the Malays and Polynesians; and the conjecture possessing perhaps the highest degree of probability, is that which maintains its origin from Asia, through the Indian archipelago."

He rejects unhesitatingly the hypothesis that the original emigration was across Behring's Straits; although "it is not to be denied," he says, "that there are some tribes in North America which may have proceeded in modern times from Siberia; for example the Chippewyans, and perhaps the Sioux, the Osages, Pawnees and some of the northwestern nations." "On the other hand, the evidences of an early knowledge of the compass in China, of the great maritime skill of the Malays, and of their navigation, in remote ages, of the Asiatic seas, the facts stated in relation to the peopling of islands by the accidental drifting of canoes, and more than all, the actual proof of the distribution of population over the numerous and distant islands of the great Pacific, from Asia to Easter island, render it unnecessary to resort to the violent hypothesis of a northern route. What greater obstacles were there, to impede a passage from Easter island to the American coast, than attended a migration to Easter island? Indeed this island itself appears to have been successively occupied by different families; and its pyramidal edifices, and its colossal obelisks and statues are closely analogous to the American monuments."

We have not room to examine these conclusions. We will barely remark that the time does not seem to have come for a confident and satisfactory result. There are many points which need a fuller investigation. We want a Champollion to read our hieroglyphics. And, happily for future generations, the era of discovery is not yet closed. Messrs. Stephens and Catherwood may bring back stranger reports than any we have yet heard. The inscription recently found at Grave Creek,—supposed by Mr. Schoolcraft to be in Druidical char-

acters,—may open a new field to the antiquarian. We do not yet despair of finding the Ariadnean thread to this labyrinth of wonders.

- 14.—*An American Dictionary of the English Language ; exhibiting the Origin, Orthography, Pronunciation and Definitions of Words. By Noah Webster, LL. D. Abridged from the Quarto Edition of the Author ; to which are added a Synopsis of Words differently pronounced by different Orthoepists ; and Walker's Key to the Classical Pronunciation of Greek, Latin and Scripture Proper Names. Revised Edition ; with an Appendix containing all the additional Words in the last Edition of the Larger Work. New York : White & Sheffield. 1841. pp. 1097 large 8vo.*

Webster's *American Dictionary* was first published about twelve years since in two volumes, quarto. An Abridgment of this great work, in one octavo volume, was prepared by Mr. Worcester of Cambridge, and Professor Goodrich of Yale College, under the general superintendence of the author, and published in 1829 ; in which the *vocabulary* was considerably enlarged, the definitions of words, as given in the larger work, were retained and new ones occasionally added, and the illustrations and authorities omitted, excepting in doubtful and contested cases, where they were carefully retained. The Abridgment was thus rendered a valuable substitute for the original work, and in some respects an improvement upon it.

The venerable author has recently given to the public a new edition of his original work, containing his last corrections and improvements. These, in all important particulars, are introduced into this *Revised Edition* of the Abridgment, chiefly in the form of an Appendix, at the end of the volume. They consist principally in the addition of about *fifteen thousand* words to the vocabulary of the first edition of the large work, and such changes of definitions as the improved nomenclature, in some branches of science, has required. Of a variety of words which have borne two forms, the author has retained only that form which he deems most proper, preferring to write *afterward*, *backward*, etc. without the *s*, and *while* instead of *whilst*, etc. He has also changed the pronunciation of some disputed words, in conformity, as he judges, with general analogies or more recent usage.

We cannot be expected in this brief notice to enter upon a critical examination of the merits of Webster's Dictionary.

From the nature of the work it would be preposterous to claim for it the honor of a perfect standard ; and its principles, as well as the imperfections which belong almost of necessity to its execution, are open for discussion. We regard it, however, as on the whole the best lexicon of the English language which we at present possess ; and, until a better shall be provided, intend to keep it by us for consultation. At the same time we shall adopt in practice the sentiment of the author, that, "in a work of this kind, embracing, as it does, the whole circle of ideas embodied in the language of a nation, the utmost efforts of the lexicographer are only an approximation towards the end in view."

15.—*A Grammar of the Greek Language. Part I. A practical Grammar of the Attic and common Dialects, with the Elements of general Grammar. By Alpheus Crosby, Prof. of the Greek Lang. and Lit., Dartmouth College. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1841. pp. 257.*

It has been supposed by many that the grammar of Sophocles has left hardly any thing to be attempted, or even desired, in the same department. His Greek origin, it has been thought, gave him advantages for unfolding the principles of the language, which others could not hope to possess. But the work before us shows that one scholar, at least, does not regard the door as having been closed against further effort. This volume of Prof. Crosby is professedly incomplete ; "the remainder," he informs us, "containing Syntax, will be published with as little delay as possible." It would be premature to form a definitive opinion upon its merits, until the whole shall have appeared. A cursory perusal of the portion now given to the public has afforded us much satisfaction. The author is an accomplished scholar ; and he has bestowed much thought and labor on the subject of general grammar, as well as the peculiarities of the Greek. His investigations seem to have been prosecuted with an earnest desire to refer facts to principles, to educe from the phenomena of speech the key to their solution. We have been particularly interested in his remarks on some topics which are apt to be left without satisfactory explanation.

The work is designed to contain the elements of general grammar, the rules of Greek grammar, so far as they apply to the Attic and common dialects, and a series of tables illustrative of Greek inflection. Those portions which treat of general grammar may be studied separately, or in connection, with

the rest, or omitted altogether. The tables are also published separately in duodecimo for beginners, in large quarto for more advanced students. The whole is handsomely and accurately printed.

- 16.—*The Mute Christian under the Smarting Rod, with Sovereign Antidotes for every case.* By the Rev. Thomas Brookes, of London, 1669. Boston: Seth Goldsmith; Crocker & Brewster; Gould, Kendall & Lincoln; and Tappan & Dennett. New-York: J. Leavitt. 1841. pp. 246.

There were certain Psalms which Luther could never understand till he was afflicted; and no man is fully qualified to administer comfort to others till he has sought it for himself. It was in this way that Thomas Brookes received his training as a son of consolation. "The afflicting hand of God hath been very heavy upon myself, and upon my dearest relations in this world, and upon many of my precious Christian friends." He was a "preacher of the Word" at London in the seventeenth century. This little treatise seems to have been originally published in 1669. It was reprinted by the Religious Tract Society in 1826. The present edition has been prepared by the Rev. Mr. Adams of Boston. He has compared the edition of the Tract Society with that of 1669 in his possession, frequently restoring the author's illustrations and idiomatic words. In his Introductory Note he remarks: "I would go far to find another work which would excite the same interest with which I first read this volume; and it is with pleasure that I think of the instruction and consolation which it will afford to many of the sons and daughters of sorrow."

- 17.—*Syllabus to Lectures on Chemistry.* By Charles Upham Shepard, M. D., Prof. of Chemistry in the Medical College of the State of South Carolina, and Lecturer on Natural History in Yale College. Charleston, S. C.: S. Babcock & Co. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. New Haven: B. & W. Noyes. 1841. pp. 204.

The character of this work is indicated by its title; it contains a full and well digested *Syllabus* of the author's course on Chemistry. His motive for preparing and publishing such an outline is given in the "Advertisement." "Having noticed the pains which some of my audience have been at to transcribe the leading facts communicated in my lectures, both by taking notes at the time of their delivery, and subsequently by consulting the tables of composition, temperature and physi-

cal qualities of bodies, with which my lecture-room has heretofore been furnished, and knowing that such a labor on their part could not be performed in the first case except at the risk of losing sight of the experiments, nor in the second without interfering with other engagements during an exceedingly busy session, I have made the attempt to supply my pupils with such an outline of my course, as shall effectually relieve them in future from this embarrassment." But this "Syllabus" may be useful not only to those who attend the Lectures of Prof. Shepard, but to chemical students in general, especially to such as are preparing for the medical profession. The leading principles of chemistry, its various combinations, tables, etc., are here exhibited in their just relations, and in a convenient form. A very considerable portion of this outline has been devoted to organic chemistry. The recent discoveries in this interesting department of scientific investigation,—some of which are contained in none of our text books,—are brought together, and presented to the inquirer within the compass of a few pages.

18.—*The School and Family Dictionary, and Illustrative Definer.*
By T. H. Gallaudet and Horace Hooker. New-York:
Robinson, Pratt & Co. 1841. pp. 221.

We are much pleased with the plan of this little Dictionary. It is designed "as a kind of *First Book* in the acquisition of the meaning of the English language;" and the authors have brought the results of their ample experience as instructors to bear upon this point. The ordinary dictionaries of our language contain some thirty or forty thousand words. The pupil is appalled by the hopeless task of learning their definitions in a succession of lessons. To remove this discouragement, our authors have omitted a large class of words which may be supposed to be known to every intelligent child of ten years old, and also another class, still more numerous, of the most difficult words, including the scientific and technical, which require more maturity of mind to understand them, and have embraced in this little volume only that *middle class* of words, to which the attention of a child, in learning definitions, should be first directed. The definitions are given with great simplicity and clearness, and numerous and intelligible illustrative sentences are added to the definitions to impress the meanings of words upon the minds of the young reader. We have only space to add that we regard this "*Illustrative Definer*," as one of the happiest contrivances we have seen for assisting parents and teachers in impressing upon the minds of children the true meaning of words.

- 19.—*Memoir of Mrs. Harriet L. Winslow, thirteen years a Member of the American Mission in Ceylon. By Rev. Miron Winslow. American Tract Society. pp. 480.*

This work, originally prepared by Rev Mr. Winslow during a visit to this country, has been carefully revised; some parts, which seemed less important, have been omitted or condensed, and new matter has been added. In its present form it will stand, with the memoirs of Harriet Newell, Mrs. Judson and Mrs. Sarah L. Smith, as an enduring monument of the intelligence, fidelity and efficiency of our female missionaries. Perhaps the distinguishing peculiarity of Mrs. W. was the symmetry and completeness of her character. Her history as a daughter, a sister, and the member of a refined social circle, furnishes an example worthy of universal imitation. As a Christian, she was early and deeply interested in the temporal and eternal good of those around her; she took an active part in organizing the first Sabbath school in her native town,—a cause which, from its novelty, then received but little favor. As a Christian mother, her example is one which, if universally imitated, would renovate the whole world.

The principal excellency, as well as attraction, of this memoir must be referred to the full and familiar correspondence which she constantly maintained with her parents and friends at home. To this are we mainly to ascribe that richness of detail which combines at once a history of the mission, with an affecting illustration of what a female missionary, by the grace of God, may accomplish. The value of this memoir has led to the publication of two editions of it in Great Britain, and one in France. We rejoice that so bright an example is destined to exert a permanent influence on the Christian church in this and other lands.

ADDITIONAL NOTICES.

Elements of Chemistry, containing the Principles of the Science, both experimental and practical; intended as a Text-book for Academies, High Schools and Colleges. Illustrated with numerous Engravings. By Alonzo Gray, A. M., Teacher of Chemistry and Nat. History in the Teacher's Sem., Andover, Mass. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. New-York: Dayton & Saxton. Boston: Saxton & Pierce. 1841. pp. 395.

This work was originally published in 1840. The rapid sale of the first edition and its introduction into several colleges are good evidence of its substantial merits. The author has

now revised and enlarged the volume, and given to it a permanent form. "A large amount of matter and numerous engravings have been added for the purpose of rendering the work better adapted to academies and other schools." In a previous No. of the Repository (Jan. 1841), we expressed a favorable opinion of this manual; a further acquaintance with it has only confirmed that opinion.

Gems from the Works of Travellers, illustrative of various Passages in Holy Scripture. Published under the Direction of the Committee of General Literature and Education, appointed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841. pp. 328.

The design of this volume is apparent from its title. Numerous passages of Scripture, arranged in chapters, are followed by extracts from different travellers and of various merit, illustrating the manners and customs of the East. For the general accuracy and pertinency of the selections, we have the guaranty of a committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The American edition has received from the publisher a neat and appropriate dress.

The Holy War, made by Shaddai upon Diabolus, for the regaining of the Metropolis of the World; or the losing and taking again of the Town of Mansoul. By John Bunyan, Author of Pilgrim's Progress. With a Sketch of the Life of the Author. Revised by the Committee of Publication of the American Sunday School Union. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. pp. 375.

"The Holy War" can never be as popular as the "Pilgrim's Progress;" still to have written it would have been honor enough for any man. The American Sunday School Union have done well to give it a dress so worthy of its contents. The London Religious Tract Society have recently reprinted the Holy War from an edition of 1682, collating this, however, with other copies. The American edition is taken from that with a few unimportant alterations. The illustrations add much to its value and attractiveness.

Annals of the Poor. By the Rev. Legh Richmond, A. M., late Rector of Surrey, Bedfordshire. A new edition, enlarged, with an introductory sketch of the Author; by the Rev. John Ayre, A. M., Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Roden. New-York: William Kerr & Co. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. Philadelphia: Thomas, Copperthwaite & Co. 1841. pp. 239.

This enlarged edition of the "Annals of the Poor" has been

issued by a son-in-law of the lamented author. Besides a brief sketch of his life, it contains the "Dairyman's Daughter," with an appendix of several new letters, the "Young Cottager," the "Negro Servant," the "Cottage Conversation" and a "Visit to the Infirmary." The last two pieces were originally inserted in the *Christian Guardian*, and now for the first time accompany the larger tracts.

The Claims of Jesus. By Robert Turnbull, Pastor of Boylston Church, Boston. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1841. pp. 120.

The author divides his treatise into four chapters, in which he considers successively the Humanity of Christ, the Divinity of Christ, the Mystery of the Incarnation, and Christ as a Prophet, Priest and King. "Commencing at the lowest point at which the glory of Jesus is visible, he has aimed to advance, step by step, till he should arrive at its loftiest elevation." The views presented are just, and the temper of the discussion is unexceptionable.

Tellström, the first Swedish Missionary to Lapland; with an Appendix, giving an Account of the Stockholm Mission. By George Scott, Pastor of the English Congregation at Stockholm. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1841. pp. 86.

This is an interesting sketch of a humble but devoted Christian. We prize it chiefly, however, from its being the farewell gift of the estimable author.

Hymns for the Vestry and the Fireside. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1841. pp. 216.

There are nearly four hundred hymns in this collection, most of which are well known to the public. Some new and beautiful specimens of devotional poetry have been added.

ARTICLE IX.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Great Britain.

MR. BLACKIE, the translator of *Faust*, has commenced his labors as Prof. of Humanity in Marischal College, Aberdeen; the difficulty growing out of his objection to signing the Confession of Faith having been compromised. Dr. Arnold, the historian of Rome, has been appointed to the professorship of

Modern History, at Oxford, in the place of Dr. Nares.—Prof. Whewell has been chosen Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the place of Dr. Wordsworth, resigned.—Rotteck's History of the World has just been published; we presume it is a reprint of the American translation by Mr. Jones. This history has reached its 14th edition in Germany.—The second volume of Blunt's Exposition of the Pentateuch, including Exodus and Leviticus, was to appear at the close of the year.—Rev. Samuel Davidson, LL. D., is preparing his Sacred Hermeneutics Developed and Applied, a sequel to his former volume.—The Popular Theology of Dr. Schmucker has been favorably received in England; his Fraternal Appeal is highly commended.

Among the later English publications we notice *The Kingdom of Christ Delineated*, in two Essays, by Archbishop Whately; *The Theology of the Early Christian Church* (quotations from the first three centuries) by James Bennett, D. D.; the second and last volume of Neander's History of the Christian Religion and Church during the first three centuries, translated by Rose.

Germany.

Dr. Lechler has published a History of English Deism, which has produced quite a sensation in Germany; it is noticed very favorably in Gersdorf's Repertorium. Dr. J. G. F. Höfling has undertaken to rescue the writings of Origen from the perversion of the Romanists. The title of the work is *Originis Doctrinam de Sacrificiis Christianorum in Examen vocavit*; its object is to show that this father did not consider the eucharist to be a sacrifice in the sense of the Romish church. Dr. Meier's translation and exposition of Joel is mentioned with approbation. The theological faculty of Jena made the writings of Justin Martyr a prize question for 1839; J. C. T. Otto, a young scholar, obtained the prize, and the essay is now published. It is surpassed in learning, however, by another work on the same subject, of which C. Semisch is the author. *Christ the Conqueror*, a new Christian epic by K. Moritz, is commended by the journals. B. Tauchnitz, Jr. is publishing, in a cheap edition, the principal works of the Latin Fathers, under the supervision of Gersdorf. Nine volumes have appeared, containing the works of Clement, Cyprian, Tertullian and Ambrose. The next two volumes will embrace the writings of Lactantius; these will be followed by Minucius Felix, Arnobius, Augustine, etc.

The number of students in the universities during the summer semester was as follows: At Berlin there were 1561

(loss from the winter semester 117); of these 410 were foreign students (loss from the winter 80). The theological department had 350 (73 foreign), law 463 (111 foreign), medicine 381 (112 foreign), philosophy 367 (114 foreign). Others attended lectures to the number of 374. At Bonn there were 609 students (gain from the winter semester 13); of these 133 were foreigners (gain from the winter 13); 175 belonged to the theological department,—87 (42 foreign) to the Protestant, and 88 (2 foreign) to the Catholic. At Breslau there were 612 (loss from the winter semester 19) of these only 7 were foreigners. In the theological department there were 281,—173 in the Catholic, in the Protestant 108. At Freiburg there were 288 students (loss from the winter semester 13), of whom 80 were foreigners; 104 (foreign 28) were studying theology, and only 5 philosophy. At Giessen there were 423 students (gain from the winter 16), of whom 102 (gain from the winter 26) were foreigners; 115 were attending to theology,—73 to Protestant and 42 to Catholic theology. At Göttingen the number of students amounted to 703 (loss from the winter semester 1), of these 211 were foreigners. At Halle there were 705 (gain from the winter 23), of whom 103 were foreigners; 425 (foreign 103) were connected with the theological department. At Heidelberg the number of students was 654 (gain from the winter 40); of these 477 were foreigners. At Jena there were 447 (loss from the winter 13), of whom 213 were foreigners; 130 studied theology. At Leipsic the whole number of students was 903 (loss from the previous semester 32), of whom 265 were foreigners; 255 (69 foreign) were in the theological department. At Marburg the whole number was 264 (loss from the winter 21), of whom 46 were foreigners; 67 attended to theology. At München there were 1297 (loss from the winter 80), of whom 170 were theological students. At Tübingen there were 731 (loss from the winter 8), of whom 43 were foreigners; 165 were pursuing Protestant and 98 Catholic theology. At Würzburg there were 458 students; 83 theological.

United States.

Allen, Morrill & Wardwell will soon publish the works of Pres. Edwards, in two volumes, with a memoir by Rev. T. Edwards, of Rochester, N. Y. It will be the first complete edition of the writings of this eminent theologian. The first No. of the Hebrew Concordance, edited by Dr. Nordheimer and Mr. Turner, will be issued in a few weeks. It will be superior to any other, even to that of Fürst.

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APRIL, 1842.

SECOND SERIES, NO. XIV.—WHOLE NO. XLVI.

ARTICLE I.

EXAMINATION OF CERTAIN POINTS OF NEW ENGLAND HISTORY, AS
EXHIBITED BY PRESIDENT QUINCY IN HIS HISTORY OF HARVARD
UNIVERSITY, AND BY OTHER UNITARIAN WRITERS.

By Enoch Pond, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Bangor, Me.

[*Concluded from No. XIII. p. 145.*]

CONSIDERATION OF OTHER OBJECTIONS AGAINST COTTON MATHER.

THE objections of President Quincy to Cotton Mather are not confined to the subject of witchcraft. Various *other* objections are urged, the more material of which we shall briefly notice.

He accuses Cotton Mather, as he had done his father, of indulging in a very improper spirit and language in controversy. And in order to show the truth of this charge, he runs over some of his controversial pamphlets, and some parts of his diary, culling out, and exhibiting in marks of quotation, the stronger and more objectionable words and phrases. To all this I have only to reply, that while the quotations of President Quincy do not exhibit the writings of Mather in any thing like a fair light, making them to appear much worse than they are, still, it is to be conceded that he did not always treat his opponents with what *we* might denominate due forbearance and courtesy. He well knew how to put words together, so as to make them thunder heavily on the ear of an opponent; and he

sometimes indulged himself in this way, beyond what the circumstances of the case required. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that Cotton Mather was, to a great extent, a controversial writer. Nearly all his three hundred and eighty-three publications were on devotional and practical subjects. He expressly says of himself :

“ Though I have had, first and last, such a number of pamphlets thrown at me, that if I had been vulnerable, I might appear stuck as full of darts as the man in the signs of the almanack ; yet, upon considering the sorry and silly stuff which they have consisted of, and the despicable quality of the scribblers, and remembering, too, that lies have no legs, and what I had learned about treating insolent men with humility, and angry men with meekness ; I have thought that Proverbs xxvi. 4, was a full answer to them. I have had so much better work to spend my precious time in, that I don’t call to mind I have ever once yet published a direct and formal answer to any of them all ; but instead thereof, and *once for all*, I gave to the public my ‘ True Way of Shaking off a Viper.’ ”*

In regard to controversial asperity, as has been remarked in another place, much regard is to be had to the spirit and customs of the age. In the times of the Mathers, and for a long period before and since, the most of those who dipped into religious controversy, seem first to have dipped their pens in gall. As choice specimens of what I here mean, I would refer President Quincy to some of the pamphlets written against “ the New Lights,” about the middle of the last century ; and above all, to the reply of the late Dr. Mayhew, of Boston, to good old Mr. Cleaveland, of Ipswich.

President Quincy says, that “ in *many instances*, in the voluminous writings of Cotton Mather, the conviction is forced upon the mind, that he was not quite so scrupulous as might be wished, in his relation of facts.” And in one instance, at least, he charges him with *known and wilful falsehood*. The circumstances were these : In the progress of the difficulties respecting the institution of the Brattle-street church, an effort was made at reconciliation ; and this was so far successful, that the two Mr. Mathers consented to attend the dedication of the church, and to take part in the exercises. In his diary of January 21, 1700, Cotton Mather represents this effort at reconciliation as having originated with himself : “ I drew up a pro-

* The title of one of Mather’s publications. Remarkables, etc., p. 8.

posals, and with another minister carried it unto them, who at first rejected it, but afterwards so far embraced it as to promise that they will, the next week, publicly recognize their covenant with God and one another, and therewithal declare their adherence to the Heads of Agreement of the United Brethren in England,* and request the communion of our churches on that foundation." Vol. I. p. 487. But President Quincy says: "The glory of effecting the reconciliation, thus obtrusively claimed by Cotton Mather, was *wholly without foundation. He neither drew up the paper, nor had any material efficiency in producing it.*" p. 135. The grounds on which President Quincy thus charges Mather with what (if falsehood at all) must have been *known* and *wilful* falsehood, are two: 1. Dr. Colman says nothing about Mr. Mather's instrumentality, in the church records. But does he say any thing *against it*? Do the records of the church *contradict* the diary of Mather? Not in the slightest degree. They merely omit to notice, what Mather says was true, and what, for aught the records say or intimate to the contrary, may have been true to the letter. 2. The other ground on which the accusation of President Quincy rests, is the diary of Judge Sewall. His account of the reconciliation varies somewhat from that of Mr. Mather, but is not inconsistent with it, or contradictory to it. Under date of January 24th, three days subsequent to Cotton Mather's effort, Judge Sewall says:

"The Lieut. Governor calls me, with him, to Mr. Willard's, where, out of two papers, Mr. William Brattle drew up a third, for an *accommodation*, to bring on an *agreement* between the new church and our ministers. *Mr. Colman got his brethren to subscribe to it.* January 25th. Mr. I. Mather, Mr. C. Mather, Mr. Willard, Mr. Wadsworth and S. Sewall, wait on the Lieut. Governor, at Mr. Cooper's, to confer about the writing drawn up the evening before. There was some heat, but grew calmer, and after lecture, agreed," &c. p. 491.

The probable circumstances of the case were these: Mr. Willard, pastor of the old South Church, was the *other minister*, that went with Cotton Mather in his effort at reconciliation, on the 21st of January. Of the two papers in the possession of Mr. Willard on the 24th, and from which Mr. Brattle drew

* These Heads of Agreement were drawn up while Increase Mather was in England, as the foundation of a union between the Congregational and Presbyterian churches in that country.

up a third, *one* was that which had been previously drawn up by Mr. Mather. This paper, rather than the other, was substantially adopted by Mr. Brattle, in preparing a third; so that this last paper, though in the hand-writing of Mr. Brattle, was really, as to the substance of it, the production of Mr. Mather. The next day (January 25th) a meeting was held at Mr. Cooper's, where, after some warm discussion, the prepared paper was adopted, and the reconciliation effected. This accords entirely with Mather's testimony, who says that his paper was at first rejected, but *afterwards* was embraced. After Mr. Brattle had copied it, possibly with some slight variations, and had brought it forward under the sanction of his name, the founders of the new church consented to embrace it. Of course, it cannot now be determined, that the order of events here supposed is precisely that which actually took place. But certainly, it *may* have been. There is nothing unreasonable or improbable in the supposition. Hence, the diaries of Mather and Sewall *may* both be true.* Beyond a doubt, they both *are* true. And President Quincy owes it, not only to the memory of Mather, but to *himself*, to take back the charge of wilful falsehood, to which he has (I trust without due consideration) consented to give the sanction of his name.

It is further objected to Cotton Mather, that he habitually desired and endeavored, for a long course of years, to become the President of Harvard College. If this charge were admitted, to the full extent to which it is urged, I see not that it will fasten any serious blot upon the character of Mr. Mather. Good men have often desired public stations, and labored to secure them, and yet, in the end, have been disappointed. I am persuaded, however, that the desires of Cotton Mather, in regard to the presidency of Harvard College, have been vastly overrated. His diary has been raked, from end to end, to gather up expressions bearing on this point; and yet, almost nothing

* To the mode of harmonizing the diaries of Mather and Sewall, proposed above, I can think of but a single objection. It may be said that the reconciliation, according to Mather, took place on the 21st day. But although the entire record of Mather is made under date of the 21st, it is obvious that he mentions several things, which took place afterwards. For instance, he speaks of the exercises of the dedication or fast, which did not take place till the 31st.

of a decisive character has been discovered. President Quincy intimates, that he desired his father might have an agency to England, that so the presidency of the college might be left vacant for him. p. 102. But no evidence of this appears in his diary. On the contrary, he assures us, that his "flesh would be, on all accounts imaginable, *against* his father's removal from him. It will doubtless plunge me into ten thousand inconveniences." p. 484.

Again, President Quincy represents the Mathers as insupportably disappointed, when President Leverett was chosen. "They had anticipated that the choice would have fallen upon one or the other of themselves." p. 201. But in proof of the assertion here made, I find not a particle of evidence in the diaries of either of the Mathers, or anywhere else. Without doubt, they were displeased at the appointment of Mr. Leverett to the presidency, but not (so far as I can learn) that they desired or expected the office for themselves.

On the death of President Leverett, there seems to have been a general expectation and desire that Mr. Mather should be elected to the vacant office. "The voice of the people," says Dr. Elliot, "cried aloud for Mr. Mather, and it was declared, even in the general court, that he *ought* to be president."* Mr. Mather was well acquainted with this fact, and frequently refers to it in his private writings of this date. It is to be remembered, however, that these were *private* writings, intended, not for the public eye, but for *his own*. Without doubt, he had written with less freedom, could he have known to what kind of scrutiny his papers, in after times, were to be subjected. I do not find, however, any indications of an inordinate desire to become president of Harvard College; or of inordinate grief or disappointment that he was not elected. So far from this, there are expressions of directly an opposite character; and if we are to receive the evidence of a diary, *why should we not receive it all?*

"I have, personally, unspeakable cause to admire the compassion of Heaven to me, on this occasion. Though I have been a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, yet none of the least exercises that I have had withal was *the dread* of what the generality of sober men expected I desired, the care of the college to be committed unto me. I had a dismal apprehension of *the distresses* which a call at Cambridge would bring upon me."†

* Biog. Dictionary, p. 314. † Am. Biog. Vol. VI. p. 330.

It has been mentioned already, that Cotton Mather wrote a solemn letter of reproof to Governor Dudley, of the same date with that of his father. As the writing of such a letter is made matter of serious charge against Mr. Mather, it will be necessary as briefly as possible to consider it. I need not repeat here what was said before, as to the character of Governor Dudley. He had tried to cultivate the friendship of the Mathers so far as this was consistent with his political designs; and had often availed himself of their influence and good offices, in times of difficulty and distress. At the time of the revolution, he probably owed his *life* to Cotton Mather; for, had he not exerted himself to the utmost to calm the passions of the angry multitude, they had risen in their vengeance, and cut off their oppressors at a stroke.* When Dudley, with his associates, was imprisoned, he wrote to Cotton Mather, imploring his assistance "for rolling the stone from the door of this sepulchre, wherein," says he, "I am buried alive."† At the time of his appointment to the office of governor, he had the address, as before stated, to procure a letter from Cotton Mather in his favor, which letter was read before the king, and had much influence in obtaining for him the office which he sought.

When Mr. Dudley arrived in this country as governor, he was received with tokens of respect by the Mathers, and by the people generally. But almost immediately he began to manifest his ingratitude, and his disposition to turn every thing to his own personal advantage. In a visit which he paid to Cotton Mather soon after his arrival, he received from him the following faithful and excellent advice:

"Sir, you arrive to the government of a people, that have their various and divided apprehensions about many things, and particularly about your own government over them. I am humbly of opinion that it will be your wisdom to carry an indifferent hand to all parties, if I may use so coarse a word as parties, and to give occasion to none to say, that any have monopolized you, or that you took your measures from them alone. I will explain myself with the freedom and the justice, though not perhaps with the prudence, which you would expect from me. I will do no otherwise than I would be done to. I should be content—I would *approve* and *commend* it—if any one should say to your excellency: By no means let any people have cause to say, that you take all your measures from the two Mr.

* See Life of Mather by his Son, p. 43.

† Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass., Vol. I. p. 348.

Mathers. By the same rule, I may say without offence: By no means let any people say, that you go by no measures in your conduct, but by Mr. Byfield's and Mr. Leverett's. This I speak, not from any personal prejudice against the gentlemen, but from a due consideration of the disposition of the people, and as a service to your excellency."*

But having received this good advice, his excellency went directly out, and *misrepresented* and *distorted* it, much to the injury of Mr. Mather. He went at once to Messrs. Byfield and Leverett, and told them that Cotton Mather had counselled him *to be in nowise advised by them*.

And this was but the commencement of his malpractices. The first six or seven years of his administration were little else than a continued succession of criminations and recriminations—of disputes, encroachments and complaints. Disgusted with his proceedings, and with the spirit and character which he exhibited, the Mathers at length concluded to write him, each of them, a letter on the same day. Considering the relations they had sustained to him, their former intercourse with him, the kind offices they had performed for him, and that he, in fact, obtained the government, in no small degree, through their means, they felt not only authorized, but *called upon* to deal with him after this manner. On the letter of Increase Mather, I have already remarked. I proceed to subjoin some brief account of the letter of Cotton Mather, accompanied by such explanations as may be necessary.†

He begins by telling the governor, that he feels it to be his duty to give him some words of faithful advice, administered in so plain a manner that they cannot well be misunderstood. He touches upon their previous intercourse; upon the favors which

* Am. Biography, Vol. VI. p. 286. President Quincy *perverts* and *misrepresents* this advice of Mather to the governor, we trust not wittingly, but *grossly* and *injuriously*. Referring to the interview between them, he says: "Mather took occasion to *warn* Dudley against Byfield and Leverett, as those he deemed leaders in opposition to the order of the gospel, and the true construction of the Cambridge Platform." p. 153. Yet Mather can hardly be said to have "*warned*" the governor any way; and certainly, he said not one word about "the order of the gospel," or "the Cambridge Platform."

† The entire letter, with Dudley's answer, may be found in Mass. Hist. Collections, 1st Series, Vol. III. pp. 128—137.

he had conferred upon his excellency ; and the manner in which these had been requited. He reminds him of his former mis-carriages, and of the hopes which were entertained, when he came into the government, that he had repented of them, and would do so no more. He speaks of the sore disappointment which his friends had experienced, and of the consequent troubles in which the governor himself had been involved. He proceeds to reprove him for his *covetousness* ;—a sin of which, in the judgment of all his cotemporaries, Dudley was notoriously guilty. It was this which had led him into a species of *bribery* and *corruption*, to which some of the first men in the country had borne witness under oath, and their affidavits were then in England. “And this it is,” says the writer, “that many do *firmly believe* has drawn you in to countenance that unlawful trade with the enemy, which has been carried on by some grateful merchants.” Reference is here made to certain *treasonable practices*, of which Dudley, only the year before, had been accused to the queen. Mr. Mather proceeds to speak of the opposition of the governor and his son to the chartered liberties of New England ;—an offence of which Mr. Bancroft testifies, and Hutchinson *proves*, that he was actually guilty.* He next speaks of the expedition against Port Royal, which he thinks had failed, through the governor’s mismanagement. He complains of the manner in which business is often transacted in the council. The members are not allowed to deliberate. They are hurried, *driven*, into improper measures, the blame of which is then thrown upon the council. A day is sometimes appointed for the election of justices, and then privately altered, so that none may be present but those whose company is desired. These things being so, it must needs be that the governor is under the Divine displeasure. There is a judgment to come, when he will be required to answer for the manner in which his duties were performed. Considering his age and health, his excellency ought to lose no time in thinking seriously on this subject, and applying for the Divine mercy. Mr. Mather further declares, that no usage shall ever induce him to lay aside the feelings of love and kindness, which he thinks it his duty to maintain with all mankind. He has often been silent, when he felt strongly tempted to speak. He has

* See Hist. of United States, Vol. III. p. 100. Hutchinson’s Hist. of Mass., Vol. II. p. 146.

been neglected, and treated with contempt and aversion. Those who visited him have been insulted, though that act of attention was all their sin. Even those who live in the same part of the town have been proscribed for that, and no other transgression. But he cherishes no resentment. "I can forgive and forget injuries. I hope I am somewhat ready for *sunset*; and the more so, for having discharged the duty of this letter."

Such, for substance, is Cotton Mather's letter to Governor Dudley. It is less definite, methodical and guarded, than that of his father. It is more wordy and discursive, and betrays more of impatience and a disposition to retort. As to the charges contained in it, the most and the *worst* of them were true; and the remainder were generally supposed to be true, at the time. If any are disposed to think that Mr. Mather used too much freedom with the governor, let them bear in mind the former relations and intercourse which had subsisted between them; the numerous favors which the former had conferred on the latter; and especially the influence which Mr. Mather had exerted in procuring the appointment of the governor, which had brought upon him, as he says, "an extreme displeasure in the country." Let them consider, too, that in the early days of New England, the minister and chief magistrate were more nearly on a level than they are at present; and that ministers were accustomed (perhaps because they were more faithful) to use a greater freedom in reproving "spiritual wickedness in high places," than is customary now. I will not say that every word or sentence of the long letter which has been under review is to be approved; but I do say, that I more admire the boldness and faithfulness of the writer, than I can find it in my heart to censure his harshness. With a fidelity which reminds one of the prophets of old, he tells the governor a great many truths, which probably no one else would, and points him forward to solemn future scenes, which, in the midst of the cares of government, he was very liable to forget.

On the whole, I think Dudley had more reason to be grateful for such a letter, than to be angry at it;—more reason to thank the writer for his fidelity, than to rail at him (as he did) for his rudeness and impertinence.

One of President Quincy's objections to Cotton Mather has respect to his treatment of the college. He accuses him of talking disrespectfully of the college, and in various ways of trying to injure it. He speaks of the college, during the pre-

sidency of Mr. Leverett, as "in a neglected and unhappy condition," and as "betrayed into vile practices"—so much so, that he thought it his duty, in some instances, to stay at home at commencement, praying that the college "might be restored, and become again a nursery of piety," etc. He complains of the commencement seasons, as "time sorrowfully enough thrown away"—as "a senseless, useless, noisy impertinency." pp. 224, 527. In fact, he speaks of the college as having no proper chartered existence, and of its curators and officers as without *legal* authority. He talks about the "*pretended* president," and "those unaccountably *called* the overseers," and "the six men who *call* themselves the corporation." pp. 330, 583. He sides with malcontents, in opposition to the corporation; favors the establishment of Yale College; and endeavors to turn away the bounty of Mr. Hollis from Harvard to Yale. pp. 227, 523.

Several causes contributed to render Mr. Mather dissatisfied with the condition of the college, during the greater part of the administration of President Leverett—perhaps more so than he ought to have been. It seems, however, that he was not alone in these feelings of dissatisfaction. They became, at length, so great, and so general, that in 1723 the overseers were induced to take the matter up, and by a committee of visitation, to make diligent inquiry into the condition of the college.* In their report, this committee state, among other things, "that there is too common and general a neglect of the stated exercises among the undergraduates;"—that "there has been a practice of several immoralities; particularly stealing, lying, swearing, idleness, picking of locks, and too frequent use of strong drinks; which immoralities, it is feared, still con-

* A list of inquiries has been found, in the hand-writing of Cotton Mather, without name or date, but purporting to have been "prepared by some *who have newly passed through the first four years of their being at college.*" President Quincy assumes that these were *really* prepared, about this time, by Cotton Mather; and that each of the inquiries is an indirect *charge* or *accusation* against the college. But it seems to me unfair, in direct contradiction to the language of the paper, to consider Cotton Mather as its author. And if he were its author, I consider it still more unfair, to construe his *inquiries* into *charges* or *accusations*. pp. 341, 559.

tinue in the college ;”—“that the scholars are, many of them, too long absent from the college ;”—that they “spend too much of the Saturday evenings in one another’s chambers ;”—and “that the Freshmen, as well as others, are seen, in great numbers, going into town on Sabbath mornings, to provide breakfasts.” Only a few years later, though subsequent to the death of President Leverett, another committee of the overseers report as follows :

“That the government of the college is in a weak and declining state, partly through a deficiency of laws, and partly by reason of some disputes and difficulties which have arisen, respecting the execution of the laws in being ;—that religion, one great end of that society, is much upon the decay ; a manifest evidence of which is, that the worship of God in the hall is scandalously neglected, or but partially and not seasonably attended by many ;—that great disorders have appeared of late amongst the students ;—that some gross immoralities are growing, and many customs that have a bad influence are indulged ;—that the long accustomed method of instruction requires alterations, and the general condition of the college calls loudly for the interposition of the wisdom and authority of the overseers.” pp. 319, 388.

It would seem from these public documents, that Mr. Mather’s impressions as to the state of the college were not altogether without foundation. And the fact that he recorded them, not in a way of public accusation, but in his private writings, and as matter of lamentation before God, cannot reasonably be urged as any objection to his character.

As to the college commencements, at the period of which we speak, and a little later, we have other information besides that which Mr. Mather has afforded us. President Quincy himself says : “Great excesses, immoralities and disorders, occurred about this period (1727). These were particularly annoying at the commencement season.” Five years before (in 1722) the corporation and overseers had made a law, prohibiting, under severe penalties, expensive entertainments, and the use of “distilled liquors, or any composition made therewith,” in the students’ rooms, at commencement. But the disturbances incident to the day not being prevented by these measures, “a vote passed, in 1727, that commencements, for time to come, be more private than has been usual.” The next year, a request was made to the civil authorities to interpose, and prevent “the setting up of booths and tents” on commencement days. A few years later, the civil authorities were requested

to establish a patrol, on "the evening of commencement day, and the night following, and in and about the entry of the college hall at dinner time, to prevent disorders." pp. 386, 387. In view of a state of things such as these facts and records indicate, our readers will judge whether Mr. Mather is greatly to be blamed for describing the commencements as "time sorrowfully enough thrown away;" and for preferring, in some instances, rather to stay at home, and pray for the college, than to patronize, by his presence, such a "noisy impertinency."

But Mr. Mather used language which implied that the college had no proper *legal* existence. And this was *the truth* respecting it. When the colonial charter was vacated, in 1684, the *college charter*, in the judgment of all concerned, *died with it*,* nor could it be revived or reanimated, but by the royal authority. And hence the efforts which were made, through a series of years, to frame or procure a college charter, which should have the approbation of the crown. But not succeeding in these efforts, in the year 1707, at the time of the election of President Leverett, Governor Dudley conceived a plan, as President Quincy says, "in the depths of his own mind," to revive, by mere provincial authority, the old charter of 1650;—a thing which could not be legally done, and of the impossibility of doing which no man, probably, was more fully sensible than Dudley himself. Yet this rotten, illegal foundation was all the chartered foundation which the college had, during the times of which we now speak. Indeed, it had no better foundation, except as this was occasionally propped by some judicial decision or legislative sanction, down to the period of the American Revolution. No wonder, then, that Cotton Mather thought the college in a precarious and unhappy situation; being, in fact, no proper college, as having no *legal, chartered* existence. No wonder that he spoke of Leverett as the "pretended president," and of the overseers and corporation as being such only *in name*.

The malcontent, with whom Mr. Mather is thought to have sided, in opposition to the corporation, was a Mr. Pierpont, who having applied, in 1718, for his second degree, was refused, on the ground of certain allegations brought against him by a tutor. The corporation sustained the faculty in their decision

* In the elegant language of Governor Dudley: "The cow was dead, and therefore the calf was dead in her belly."

respecting Pierpont; upon which he immediately commenced a suit against the tutor, at common law. Of the particular circumstances of this case, no record has come down to us. It is certain that Mr. Mather sympathized with Pierpont, considering him as an "abused and oppressed" man. It is certain, too, that Governor Shute, and both the Dudleys, and many of the overseers, did the same. Indeed, the opposition to the course pursued by the faculty and the corporation had become so formidable, that it is hard to determine what the consequences might have been, had not the justices at common law, when the matter came before them, ordered the complaint to be quashed, and the defendant to be dismissed.

That Mr. Mather felt a deep interest in the establishment of the new college in Connecticut, and solicited for it the patronage of the Hon. Elihu Yale, intimating that his munificence might procure for it the name of *Yale College*—is all very true. But should this be urged against him, as an objection to his character? Or should it not rather be recorded to his honor? He loved Harvard College, and had given it many proofs of filial affection and gratitude. No one can read its history, in the *Magnalia*, and doubt this for a moment. But (unlike some men) his regards were not all circumscribed in a little circle around Cambridge. They were not to be confined to a single institution. He believed that a college was needed in Connecticut, and he felt disposed to assist it, by such means as he had at his control.

That Mr. Mather ever attempted to turn away the bounty of Hollis from Harvard to Yale College, there is absolutely *no proof*. In support of his charge to this effect, President Quincy has naught to rely on but bare suspicion. It seems that Governor Saltonstall, of Connecticut, inclosed to Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, of London, an anonymous letter to Mr. Hollis, "recommending to him the collegiate school at New Haven." But that Cotton Mather wrote this letter there is not a *particle of proof*. And if he did write it, or whoever wrote it, it does not appear that the object of the letter was to *withdraw* the charities of Mr. Hollis from Cambridge, but merely to "recommend the collegiate school at New Haven." Mr. Hollis might have done all that he ever did, or thought of doing, for the college at Cambridge, and might have liberally assisted New Haven too.

Another of President Quincy's objections to Cotton Mather

grows out of his treatment of President Leverett ; more particularly that, in a letter written after his death to Mr. Hollis, he should denominate him an "infamous drone." The alienation of feeling between the Mathers and Mr. Leverett commenced about the year 1698, and grew out of the controversy respecting the Brattle-street church ; Mr. Leverett earnestly advocating the innovations then attempted, and the Mathers as strenuously opposing them. The breach was still farther widened, through the influence of Governor Dudley, who, during the first half of his administration, seems to have made it an object to increase the prejudices existing between these men, and to profit by their differences. It is likely that Mr. Leverett, though a good man and a Calvinist, was never that holy, spiritual, engaged Christian, which Mather would have liked to see at the head of the college. This is evident from the general course of his life. He was first a preacher ; then for many years a civilian ; and after he came to the government of the college, he assumed the character of a minister again.* Still, he was not such a minister as Increase Mather ; nor did he labor as President Mather was wont to do, for the *conversion* and *salvation* of his pupils.† It was matter of earnest complaint with Chief Justice Sewall and others, during his presidency, that he did not expound the Scriptures to the students in the hall. p. 494. Still, I am of the opinion that the expression quoted above from Mr. Mather's letter to Hollis, was altogether too strong, and quite inexcusable. President Leverett could not, with any propriety of language, be called a *drone*—much less "an *infamous drone*." It is *possible* that Mr. Hollis did not read Mather's letter right, not being able to decipher his chirography. He complains, in one instance, that he could not

* See his name, among those of the "*ministers* in and around Boston," attached to several public papers in Turell's *Life of Colman*. President Quincy is mistaken in speaking of him as a *layman*.

† It is related of Increase Mather, while president of the college, that he would frequently call the young men, "one by one, into the library, and there, with the affection of a parent, and the fidelity of a minister of Christ, would confer with them respecting the salvation of their souls, and solemnly charge them to renounce their sins, to embrace the gospel, and to devote themselves to the service of God." See Allen's *Biog. Dictionary*, p. 566.

read the letters of the first professor, Wigglesworth;* and I suspect that Cotton Mather's letters were quite as unreadable as his. This conjecture is the more probable, because the expression, as reported by Hollis, is not in keeping with the ordinary state of feeling subsisting between Mather and Leverett, for a long course of years. To be sure, there had been little mutual cordiality; still, their feelings were not openly hostile. They often met and deliberated on questions of interest, and were in the habit of exchanging pleasantly the usual courtesies of life. We find their names appended frequently to the same public documents. Mr. Mather placed his son at Harvard College, during the period of which we speak, with a handsome letter of introduction to the president. He also encouraged the young men of his church, in seeking an education there. In one of his letters to President Leverett, he says: "It is a satisfaction that I can reckon sixteen or seventeen of the sons of the church whereof I am the servant, who belong, at this time, unto the college." I believe, also, that at the funeral of President Leverett, Mr. Mather officiated as one of the bearers.†

With regard to the the expression quoted above, I have only to say farther, that, if correctly reported, it certainly was of an offensive character; and we wonder not that Mr. Hollis was surprised and aggrieved at it. It must have been written by Mather (if written at all) in one of those seasons of hypochondria and depression, to which he was subject during the latter years of his life.

To sum up all the objections against Cotton Mather,‡ Presi-

* See Peirce's *Hist. of Harvard University*, p. 154.

† *Ibid.* p. 120.

‡ Certain other charges against Cotton Mather have been publicly set forth, within a few years; but they have not seemed to me of sufficient importance to require a formal consideration. Thus, it is said by Mr. Peabody, that he "used all kinds of machinations" to prevent the settlement of Rev. John Barnard, afterwards of Marblehead, over a new church and society then recently gathered out of the North church in Boston. *Am. Biog.* Vol. VI. p. 298. But it appears from Mr. Barnard's own account of the matter, that it was Increase, and not Cotton Mather, who prevented his settlement in Boston. *Mass. Hist. Coll., Series 3, Vol. V. p. 214.* Nor does it ap-

dent Quincy, and the other writers to whom I have occasionally referred, represent him as possessing decidedly a *bad character*; as forfeiting his reputation and influence with the community; and as becoming, at length, "the object of public ridicule and open insult." In the excitement respecting witchcraft, says President Quincy, he was "headlong, zealous and fearless, both as to character and consequences." p. 62. He was "in the bitterness of anger," because disappointed as to his father's agency to England. p. 108. He was a man of "malign" and "vehement passions;" of "violent," "never-sleeping animosity;" and of a "self-glorifying spirit;" who would "resort to underhand measures to gratify" himself. pp. 137—237. He was characterized by "violence of passion, frequent coarseness of language, and deficiency in judgment, to a degree, at times, scarcely reconcilable with common sense." p. 330. His spirit "was restless, violent, selfish and passionate, craving distinction, and claiming it, by every form of self-illustration and dis-

pear that Increase Mather did any thing more in the case, than was perfectly proper for him to do, in his circumstances. Certain of his members were about to leave, and form a new church; or as the phrase now is, his church was about to *set off a colony*. Increase Mather was unwilling that Mr. Barnard, who was thought to favor the Brattle-street church, should be settled over them. Accordingly, he saw several of the individuals, who were expected to constitute the new church, but who were still members of his own church, and *advised* them not to settle Mr. Barnard.

Again, Mr. Bancroft, in the plenitude of his democracy, accuses Cotton Mather of resisting the will of the people, in not being willing that the old colonial charter should be set up, at the time of the revolution, in 1689. Hist. of U. States, Vol. III. p. 71. But if this was true of Cotton Mather, it was equally true of nearly all the magistrates and principal men of the colony, at that period. The old magistrates were willing to assume a *temporary, provisional* government; but they were not willing to set up the old vacated charter, and act upon it, till they could hear from England. See Hutchinson's History of Mass., Vol. I. p. 344. Not that they were unfriendly to the old charter, for they all wished to see it restored. But they were unwilling *themselves* to undertake to restore it. They were unwilling to set it up, and formally act under it, until it should be *legally* established. See Reply to Calef, p. 46.

play." p. 344. Through the faithful medium of history, "Cotton Mather must be transmitted, as an individual of ungovernable passions and of questionable principles; credulous, intriguing and vindictive; often selfish as to his ends, at times, little scrupulous in the use of means; wayward, aspiring and vain; rendering his piety dubious by display, and the motives of his public services suspected, by the obtrusiveness of his claims to honor and place; whose fanaticism, if not ambition, gave such a public encouragement to the belief in the agencies of the invisible world, as to have been one of the chief causes of the widest spread misery and disgrace, to which his country was ever subjected." p. 346. Thus far President Quincy. Mr. Upham says, that Cotton Mather combined an almost incredible amount of vanity and credulity, with a high degree of cunning and policy; an inordinate love of temporal power and distinction, with every outward manifestation of piety and Christian humility; a proneness to fanaticism and superstition, with amazing acquisitions of knowledge.* Mr. Bancroft says: "He is an example how far selfishness, under the form of vanity and ambition, can blind the higher faculties, stupefy the judgment, and dupe consciousness itself." "His self-righteousness was complete."† In fine, President Quincy says, Cotton Mather "disgusted his cotemporaries," and "became the frequent subject of ridicule and derision." p. 345. And Mr. Upham says, that he fell "into such disgrace," that "he became the object of public ridicule and open insult." p. 115.

In proof of these last charges, reference is made, not to any thing of which the public had knowledge, but to the private writings of Mr. Mather; which, in the latter part of his life, were often penned in seasons of severe domestic affliction, and (what is more) under the influence of *deep mental depression*, which led him to suspect insult, where none was intended, and to construe every thing pertaining to himself in the most unfavorable light. That he really had forfeited his reputation with the community, and become "the object of public ridicule and open insult," is refuted by what President Quincy himself says of him, in 1724—the very time when Mather was led to record, in his diary, the severest things against himself. Speaking of him, in connection with Rev. Joseph Sewall, President Quincy

* Lectures on Witchcraft, p. 103.

† Hist. of U. States, Vol. III. p. 97.

says : " At that time they were held in *high esteem* by the Calvinistic party." p. 329. It was at this time, that he was a prominent candidate for the presidency of Harvard College, when, as Dr. Elliot says : " The voice of the people *cried aloud* for Dr. Mather ; and it was declared, even in the general court, that he *ought* to be president."

But the most perfect refutation of the charges under consideration is found in the general mourning which was occasioned by his death ; in the circumstances of his funeral ; and in the many testimonies to the high excellencies of his character which, at that time, were given by his cotemporaries. " He was followed to his grave," says Mr. Peabody, " by an immense procession—including" the lieutenant governor, the honorable council, the representatives, and " all the high officers of the province." " The streets," says Dr. Elliot, " were crowded with people, and the windows filled with sorrowful spectators, all the way to the grave." " It was the general sentiment, that *a great man had fallen.*" The mourning was compared, by one of the ministers, to the mourning of the children of Israel, on the death of Aaron. Funeral sermons were preached for him in most of the churches in Boston ; where his brethren in the ministry—his *cotemporaries*, stood up in the midst of his *cotemporaries*—those among whom he was born, and with whom he had always lived, and who were perfectly acquainted, both with his weaknesses and excellencies, and gave him a character, in the terms and manner following :

" Thus lived and died Dr. Mather," said Mr. Thatcher, in his funeral discourse, " the *glory of learning*, and the *ornament of Christianity.*" " The capacity of his mind," said Rev. Mr. Gee, " the readiness of his wit, the vastness of his reading, the strength of his memory, the variety and treasures of his learning, in printed works and in manuscript ; the splendor of virtue which, through the abundant grace of God, shone out in the tenor of a most entertaining and profitable conversation ; his uncommon activity, his unwearied application, his extensive zeal and numberless projects of doing good ;—these things, as they were united in him, *proclaimed him to be a truly extraordinary person.*"

" One of the most elegant compositions of those times," says Elliot, " was a funeral sermon upon Dr. Cotton Mather, by Dr. Benjamin Colman." In this sermon, Colman says :

" We mourn the decease *from us* (not his ascension *to God*) of the *first minister of the town* ;—the first in *age*, in *gifts*, and in *grace*, as all

his brethren very readily own. I might add, it may be without offence, *the first in the whole province and provinces of New England, for universal literature and extensive services.* Yea, it may be, among all the fathers in these churches, from the beginning of the country to this day—of whom many have done worthily and greatly—yet, none of them amassed together *so vast a treasure of learning*, and made *so much use of it*, to a variety of pious intentions, as this our Rev. Brother and Father, Dr. Cotton Mather.” “His printed works will not convey to posterity, nor give to strangers, a just idea of the real worth and great learning of the man. His works will, indeed, inform all that read them of his great knowledge, and singular piety, his zeal for God, and holiness, and truth, and his desire of the salvation of precious souls. But it was *conversation*, and acquaintance with him in his familiar and occasional discourses and *private communications*, that discovered the vast compass of his knowledge, and the projections of his piety, more, I have sometimes thought, than all his pulpit exercises. Here he excelled; here he shone; being exceedingly communicative, and bringing out of his treasure things new and old, without measure. Here it was seen, how his wit and fancy, his invention, his quickness of thought, and ready apprehension, were all consecrated to God, as well as his heart, will, and affections; and out of the abundance within, his *lips overflowed—dropped as the honey-comb—fed all that came near him—and were as the choice silver, for richness and brightness, for pleasure and profit.*”

The Rev. Mr. Prince, after quoting the foregoing passages from Colman, adds :

“Every one who intimately knew Dr. Mather, will readily subscribe to the above description. By his learned works and correspondence, those who lived at the greatest distance might discover much of his superior light and influence; but they could discern these, only by a more mediate and faint reflection. They could neither see, nor well imagine, that extraordinary lustre of pious and useful literature, wherewith *we* were every day entertained, surprised, and satisfied, who dwelt in the directer rays—the more immediate vision.

“Great abilities, an insatiable thirst for all kinds of knowledge, an extraordinary quickness of apprehension, liveliness of fancy, with a ready invention and active spirit, seemed to be the chief ingredients of his *natural genius*. And all these, being sanctified in his early days, endued with a divine bias, and turned to the noblest objects, he became inflamed with the most ardent desires to amass unto himself, from all sorts of writings, an unbounded treasure of curious and useful learning, and to find out all imaginable ways of employing it, for the glory of God, the good of men, and the advancement of his own perfection; that as he grew in knowledge, he might increase in goodness and usefulness, and become a greater and more extensive blessing.

“So much erudition, such high degrees of piety, and such an active life in doing good, united in the same person, are very *rarely seen* among the sons of men. By a transient acquaintance with him,

one would think that, being sanctified from the birth, he had made the utmost improvement of his time in the pursuit of *knowledge*. But upon a further view of the *social* part of his life, the continual resort of visitants, with his gentle and easy entertainment of them at all hours, and how he would scarce let the meanest or youngest pass him without instruction; it seemed as if almost all his time were swallowed up with *conversation*. And yet, being let into a more intimate discovery of his numberless and perpetual contrivances and labors to do good in the world; one would then be ready to conclude that he could have no time left for either, but must have spent it all in *action*.

"I cannot think to wish a richer blessing, than that the God of the spirits of all flesh would, in my own dear country, and every other, raise up *numbers of such ministers as this*,—that they may *burn and shine as he*, and prepare the world for the most illustrious appearance of the great God, our Saviour Jesus Christ."*

In an obituary notice of Cotton Mather, published in the Boston News Letter, he is described as

"The *principal ornament of his country, and the greatest scholar that was ever bred in it*. Besides, his universal learning, his exalted piety and extensive charity, his entertaining wit and singular goodness of temper, recommended him to all who were judges of real and distinguished merit."†

Such, then, was the man, in the estimation of his *cotemporaries*—those among whom he lived and died—who, by certain writers in the nineteenth century, is represented as possessing some of the *most odious* traits of intellectual and moral character—the *worst* features both of mind and heart;—who is de-

* See Preface to Life of Cotton Mather, by Rev. Thomas Prince.

† Elliott's Biog. Dict. p. 312. In the year 1700, Robert Calef published his attack on Cotton Mather. This was replied to, not by Mather himself, but by several gentlemen of Boston, whose names are prefixed to the work. In this Reply, they say: "We cannot but bless God, that ever we knew Mr. Cotton Mather. He was born and bred in this town, where he has, for more than twenty years together, been a public preacher of the gospel. And we do verily believe there is not so much as *one man*, that has any knowledge of him, but what will own, that they look upon him to be a *worthy, good man, a scholar, and a gentleman, who would not write a thing that is false, or do any ill thing upon any terms*; and that he spends his life in studies, *that he might do good to all sorts of men*." p. 33.

clared to have forfeited all consideration and influence in the community, and to have become, at last, "the object of public ridicule and open insult." Our readers must judge between the *cotemporaries* of Mather and his modern *traducers*, both of whose testimonies have here been given. Which had the opportunity to know him best? Which are to be regarded as the most competent judges of his talents, his learning, his piety, his usefulness, and his moral worth?

President Quincy admits that the cotemporaries of Mather attempted "to draw a veil over his failures," "wherewith to cover his defects and infirmities;" but "time," he says, "has *lifted* that veil, and *thrust aside* that mantle, which the tenderness of friends and professional interest desired to spread." Our readers will judge, however, whether the funeral and mourning above described, and the testimonies above given—*spontaneously* given—are not something more than an effort to draw a veil over infirmities and defects;—whether they are not evidence, full and decisive, as to the estimation in which Cotton Mather—after a life of more than sixty years, the whole of which was spent in Boston—was held by the Bostonians of that day. It deserves consideration, too, whether it is, indeed, *time* that has lifted the veil, and thrust aside the mantle, of which President Quincy speaks, or whether this mantle has not been *torn aside* by rude and officious hands, to be *replaced*, in due course of time, with brighter colors, and in smoother folds.

The question has often arisen, in the progress of this discussion, Why have the Mathers received so much harder treatment, at the hands of President Quincy, than some of their cotemporaries? Why is every opportunity taken, to set off the characters of such men as Colman, and Pemberton, and Brattle, and Appleton, to the best possible advantage; while no opportunities seem to have been lost, and no epithets spared, to blacken and injure the characters of Increase and Cotton Mather? Why are the good qualities and deeds of such men as Dudley, and Stoughton, and Leverett, and the elder Sewall emblazoned, and their errors either passed over, or touched with a soft and tender hand; while the private letters and diaries of the Mathers are searched and sifted, and their very ashes raked, seemingly in eager quest for occasion of reproach?

This remarkable difference of treatment is not to be accounted for on the ground that the Mathers were *Calvinists*, and the others not; or that the Mathers were *stricter Calvinists* than

most of the distinguished men of their times. One would naturally suppose that this *was* the fact, from reading the pages of President Quincy. He has much to say respecting "the strict Calvinists," "the rigid Calvinists," "the Calvinistic party," etc., and almost all the disturbance in the affairs of college, and the mischiefs of the times, are laid to their account. Indeed, he states expressly, that the Brattles, and Leverett, and Pemberton, and Colman, "were *not* adherents to the rigid doctrines of the early established church of New England." p. 127. But on this point, he is certainly and greatly mistaken. There were no professed dissenters from Calvinistic doctrines among the Congregationalists in those times. And the distinction between strict and moderate Calvinists was scarcely known. The ministers and churches were all of them Calvinistic. They all received the Westminster Confession of Faith, or what was called the New England Confession, adopted in 1680, which is substantially the same thing. The Brattle-street church in Boston was as strictly Calvinistic in profession, as the North church. It is expressly stated, in the life of Colman, that this church "*approved* the Westminster Confession of Faith."* The elder Pemberton was a strict Calvinist, as may be conjectured from the fact, that he was selected by the venerable Samuel Willard to be his colleague and successor; and as may be *known* by all who will take the trouble to look into his sermons, Dr. Colman was not only a Calvinist, but a stickler for the peculiarities of Calvinistic doctrine. He was the early and fast friend of the celebrated George Whitefield. In 1732, he wrote a letter to the Rev. Mr. Adams, of New London, earnestly entreating him to inquire "concerning the bruit of the prevalence of Arminianism in Yale College," and "to vindicate the college, if possible, from the aspersion."† That Leverett was a Calvinist is certain from

* See Allen's Biog. Dict., p. 284. Thomas Brattle was one of the founders and original members of this church. Of course, he was either a *strict Calvinist*, or—a *hypocrite*. Dr. Holmes testifies that "Dr. Appleton, like *all* his predecessors in the ministry"—among whom was *Rev. William Brattle*—"were Calvinists." See Mass. Hist. Coll., Series 1, Vol. VII. p. 62.

† A good comment this on the pretence of President Quincy, that Yale College was got up by "the strict Calvinists," when they could no longer control affairs at Harvard. Yet, within a little more than a dozen years, a leader of President Quin-

the fact, that his election to the presidency was approved by so many of the Calvinistic ministers of the province.* Also from the fact, that such works as the Assembly's Catechism, Wollebius' Theology, and Ames's Medulla, were constantly studied and recited, as text books, under his direction, during the whole period of his presidency. p. 144.

The Rev Mr. Prince informs us, that when he returned from Europe, in 1717, the ministers of Boston "were Dr. Increase and Cotton Mather of the North church; Mr. Wadsworth and Mr. Foxcroft of the Old church; Mr. Colman and Mr. Cooper of the church in Brattle-street; Mr. Sewall of the South church; and Mr. Webb of the New North;—*all most happily agreeing in the doctrines of grace, as laid down in the Catechisms and Confession of the venerable Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as well as the Confession of Faith agreed to by our New England Synods, which is almost the same as the other.*"†

Speaking of the state of affairs in New England, in the first half of the last century, the Christian Examiner says: "An immense majority of the New England churches and ministers were Calvinists—*strict Calvinists*; and the Trinity had never been impugned in the provinces."‡

It follows from these statements, that the distinction among ministers in and around Boston, into Calvinists and others, or strict and moderate Calvinists, so much insisted on by President Quincy, in the times of which we speak, is *without foundation*. The discussions of that day turned scarcely at all on points of doctrine. They related rather to the proprieties of ecclesiastical order and usage. Of course, the ground of President Quincy's peculiar treatment of the Mathers cannot be, that they were *more orthodox*, or *stricter Calvinists*, than their brethren generally.

Neither can it be, that their views of *church government* were, on the whole, more objectionable. The Mathers were

cy's moderate party at Boston thinks it necessary to write to a trustee of Yale, beseeching him to clear the new institution of the imputation of Arminianism!! See Turell's Life of Colman, p. 62.

* Thirty-nine of these ministers expressed their approbation in writing. See Vol. I. p. 504.

† Christian History, Vol. II. p. 374.

‡ Vol. IV. p. 492.

old fashioned Congregationalists, clinging to the rights and the independence of particular churches, and resisting all encroachment on the provisions of the Cambridge Platform. But Dr. Colman was more of a Presbyterian than Congregationalist. He was ordained by the Presbytery in London, and says in one of his latest letters: "I have always openly owned myself something of a *Presbyterian*, under our Congregational form." He could be satisfied, however, with a *consociation of churches*;—a thing, the bare mention of which is rank abomination in the ears of our modern Liberalists. "The *consociation of churches*," says Colman, "is the very soul and life of the Congregational scheme, necessary to the very *esse* as well as *bene* of it; without which, we must be Independents, and with which the good of Presbyterianism is attainable."*

Nor can we account for President Quincy's hostility to the Mathers, on the ground that they were *less catholic* and *liberal* in their feelings, than their brethren generally. For they were regarded by their cotemporaries, and deservedly so (considering the age in which they lived), as *very liberal men*. Of Increase Mather it is said, he had learned "the utter nonsense and folly of attempting to convert people with *penalties*. He saw that the man, who is a good neighbor, and a good subject, has a right to his life and the comforts of it; and that it is *not his being of this or that opinion in religion, but his doing something which directly tends to the hurt of human society*, by which this right can be forfeited. He saw that, until persecution be utterly banished out of the world, and Cain's club be taken out of Abel's hand, as well as out of Cain's, it is impossible to rescue the world from endless confusions."† The opinions of Cotton Mather on this subject, were very similar to those of his father. "He was," says Prince, "an *utter enemy* to religious tyranny and imposition. He was of *very catholic and comprehensive principles*." "Although he was a defender of the doctrines of grace, as expressed in the articles of the church of England; and as to discipline, was of Congregational principles, which he looked on as most agreeable to the word of God, and the rights of the Christian church; yet was he very *extensive in his charity*, being desirous to receive all, whom Christ receives to the kingdom of God."‡

* Life of Colman, p. 107.

† Remarkables, etc p. 58.

‡ Life by his Son, p. 140.

Nor could it be the ground of President Quincy's peculiar treatment of the Mathers, that they were chargeable with *greater faults* or *more foibles*, than their cotemporaries generally. That they were perfect men, is not pretended. And that the younger Mather took no great pains to conceal his *foibles*, so that occasionally they stand out with considerable prominence, is also true. But were they not, on the whole, as free from imperfections, as most of the distinguished men around them; and much more so than many, who come under the notice of President Quincy, and escape without a line of censure? I know it is a thankless task to uncover the ashes of those who have "passed that bourne, at which," as our author says, "envy usually withdraws from its victim, and hatred listens to the suggestions of humanity."* It is a task which I will not allow myself to perform, otherwise, facts might be stated with respect to several of President Quincy's favorites—not excepting even Dr. Colman, who was truly a *nobleman*, both by nature and grace—which would not appear at all better on paper, than some things which he has stated respecting the Mathers.

For the peculiar hostility manifested by President Quincy, and other Unitarian writers, towards the Mathers, I can account on only *two grounds*. In the first place, they were called, in divine Providence, to stand in the breach, when those innovations on New England usages *commenced*, which have since resulted in the utter apostasy of so many of the churches of the Pilgrims. When the separate, independent action of the churches, in the election of their ministers, began to be denied, and the right of examining candidates for admission to the churches was first assailed, it devolved on the Mathers to stand up and oppose, what they regarded, and what evangelical Christians now regard, as *arlarming innovations*. This is one of the things for which Unitarians have never yet forgiven them, and I fear never will.

The other thing to which I refer, is the position which the Mathers felt constrained to assume, at least for a time, with reference to Harvard College. Their affectionate regard and veneration for the college, they had previously shown in a thousand ways. But when at length, in the providence of God, it fell under the control of what were called, in those times,

* Would that the president had kept this passage in mind, while writing some pages of his veritable history.

“the Manifesto men,”* the abettors of the innovations spoken of above, the Mathers felt obliged to stand very much aloof. Not that they withdrew all their former regards and patronage from the college; but they were suspicious as to its influence, and complained of its government, perhaps more than they ought. It cannot be doubted, however, that their intentions were pure. They acted from what they conceived to be the imperative demands of duty and conscience. Nor can it be doubted that their exertions were, in a good degree, successful. The threatening tide of innovation was stayed; and with an occasional exception here and there, the churches of New England held fast their integrity, for nearly or quite another half century.

OTHER POINTS IN QUINCY'S HISTORY.

Having paused thus long on the character of the Mathers—in discharge of what we conceived to be a *duty* to the memory of those venerable but much injured men—we now proceed to examine the subsequent parts of this history.

Upon the dissolution of President Mather's connection with the college, in the manner already described, the Rev. Samuel Willard, pastor of the Old South church in Boston, was appointed vice president, and succeeded to the duties of the presidency. He, too, refused to reside at Cambridge, though he consented to visit the college “once or twice every week, and tarry there a night or two, and perform the duties there done by former presidents.” As the college, at this time, had no proper charter, the government of it seems to have devolved directly on the legislature. It was the legislature that negotiated with President Mather, in regard to the subject of residence. And when he could not be induced to reside, it was the legislature that appointed, though under an inferior title, Mr. Willard in his place. He continued in office more than six years, and died September 12, 1707. He is chiefly known at this day, by his *Lectures on the Assembly's Catechism*, which were published, in folio, several years after his death.

It was in the month following the death of Willard, that the Hon. John Leverett was chosen president. Previous to his in-

* So called from a paper, styled *the Manifesto*, drawn up by the founders of the Brattle-street church, in which were set forth the extent of their innovations, and the reasons of them.

auguration, a resolve was passed, in the provincial legislature, reviving the old vacated charter of 1650, and directing "the president and fellows to regulate themselves according to it." This was clearly, as President Quincy supposes, an *illegal* proceeding, in direct "contradiction to the avowed principles, which the government of the parent state had adopted and acted upon, in relation to Massachusetts." Still, owing either to the ignorance or indifference of the British government as to its colonial affairs, or to some other cause, the error was never looked into or revoked, and the college continued on this foundation, till the adoption of the state constitution, in 1780.

The presidency of Mr. Leverett, which continued more than twenty years, was one of great interest to the college. Some of the important events which took place during this period have been already noticed, in vindicating the character of the Mathers. Others of equal importance remain to be considered.

President Quincy introduces here his account of the origin of Yale College; although it, in fact, *originated* several years before. Its foundations were laid in the year 1700, and a charter was given to it by the legislature of Connecticut, in 1701. His statements in regard to this subject have been justly complained of, for their want of fidelity and accuracy.

He says: "The first settlers of Connecticut had emigrated from Massachusetts, for the purpose of being under a *stricter form of worship* than they could here attain;"—whereas these first settlers assign no such reason for their emigration, but other and very different reasons. It was "their want of accommodation for their cattle," "the fruitfulness and commodiousness of Connecticut, and the danger of having it possessed by others," which induced Mr. Hooker and his company to leave Newtown (now Cambridge) and transport themselves across the wilderness to their new location.*

Again: "A desire had long existed in that colony (Connecticut) for the establishment in it of a school of the prophets, constructed with reference to their *peculiar* religious views." p. 197. Now the fact is, the Connecticut colonists had nothing "peculiar," in their religious views, at this period. They were Calvinistic and Congregational; and so were their brethren in Massachusetts.

President Quincy goes on to say, that the projectors of the new seminary in Connecticut were very anxious that it should

* See Winthrop's Journal, Vol. I. p. 140.

be made satisfactory to the stricter party in Massachusetts;—that with this view, they applied to Chief Justice Sewall and Mr. Secretary Addington for the draft of a charter;—that a draft was prepared by those gentlemen and sent on, “not founded, like the charters of Harvard, on ‘the instituting, guiding, and furthering of the said college, and the several members thereof, from time to time, in piety, morality, and learning,’ but on something which they doubtless deemed more safe and scriptural, ‘the reciting, memoriter, the Assembly’s Catechism in Latin, Dr. Ames’s Medulla, and also his Cases of Conscience, accompanied on the Sabbath by expositions of practical theology and the repeating of sermons, and on week days by reading and expounding the Scriptures;’”—that this draft “was adopted without any material alterations, by the founders of the college in Connecticut;”—that “from this period, the college of Connecticut began to be deemed by the stricter sect of Calvinists, the strong hold of their opinions;”—and that “their favor soon became to that institution, an element of worldly prosperity and success.” pp. 198, 199. Without imputing any improper motives or bad intentions to President Quincy, we are constrained to say, that this whole statement, in nearly every branch and member of it, is little better than a tissue of misrepresentations. In the first place, there was no real foundation, at that time, among the Congregationalists of New England, for the distinction, so much insisted on by President Quincy, between the strict and the moderate Calvinists. They were all Calvinists, on the ground of the Westminster symbols,—the Brattles, and Colman, and Willard, and Leverett, as really so, as Sewall, or Addington, or even the Mathers.—And if there had been such a distinction as President Quincy supposes, there is no evidence that the Connecticut ministers made suit to the stricter class, more than to the laxer. No indication of any such design or motive as President Quincy has imputed to them can be discovered in any record of their early proceedings.

The draft of a charter, furnished by Sewall and Addington, was also a very different thing from what President Quincy represents it. In the original paper, which still exists in the archives of Yale College, there is nothing about “reciting *memoriter* the Assembly’s Catechism;” nothing about Ames’s “Cases of Conscience;” nothing about “expositions of practical theology,” or “reading and expounding the Scriptures.”

And that “the founders of the college in Connecticut adopted, without any material alterations, the draft” furnished them

from Boston, is far from being an accurate statement. This draft arrived only just in time for the friends of the college to glance at it, previous to the final action of the legislature; and almost no use was made of it, in the charter which was enacted.

So far was "the college in Connecticut" from being deemed, henceforward, "by the stricter sect of Calvinists, as the strong hold of their opinions," that in 1714 we find Dr. Colman distressed with the apprehension that it was becoming infected with Arminianism, and beseeching one of the trustees to look into the matter, and clear it, if possible, from so foul "an aspersion."*—And so far was the favor of the Boston Calvinists from becoming, to the new college, "an element of worldly prosperity and success," that not a student went to Yale from the eastern part of Massachusetts, for more than forty years; nor was a shilling received into its treasury from any part of Massachusetts, for more than a century.†

It is made matter of complaint, in this connection, that some of "the sons of Harvard solicited donations for Yale College, and even attempted to give the tide of individual bounty, which was flowing towards Cambridge, a direction towards New Haven." p. 199. That some of the sons of Harvard solicited donations for Yale College, during the period of its infancy, I hope may be admitted, without offence. Not a few of them resided in Connecticut, some as settled ministers, others as magistrates; and while they did not forget the college at Cambridge, and in some instances subscribed liberally to its funds,‡ it was natural that they should feel a deep interest in the college of their own state, and that such a man as Cotton Mather should be able to extend his views beyond the little circle of Boston and Cambridge, and assist, by his letters and influence, in procuring funds for the new college in Connecticut, I regard as evidence of a liberal mind—of a noble, expansive, generous spirit. It should be recorded to his honor, and not his reproach, that he secured for the new college the patronage of the Hon. Mr. Yale;

* See Life of Colman, p. 62.

† For these and other important facts, I am indebted chiefly to the Review of President Quincy's History of Harvard College, published in the American Biblical Repository.

‡ Gurdon Saltonstall, for many years governor of Connecticut, bequeathed 100 pounds, lawful money, to Harvard College. His wife gave no less than 1100 pounds to the same institution. p. 420.

on which account, it soon after received the name, which it still so honorably bears, of Yale College.

In the concluding part of the sentence above quoted, there is a reference to Mather's alleged attempt to turn a way the bounty of Mr. Hollis from Cambridge, and direct it to New Haven;—a charge which has before been shown to rest entirely on suspicion, there being not a particle of evidence for its support.

At a later period, President Quincy recurs to his favorite idea, that Yale College "had been founded under the auspices of persons discontented with the religious state of Harvard, and adds:

"After the lapse of half a century, it was again regarded as the place of refuge, in the impending dangers of the Calvinistic faith. Accordingly, in the year 1752, *the clergy of Connecticut, with the co-operation of the Calvinistic sect in Massachusetts*, sedulously began the task of settling and securing orthodoxy in the college at New Haven. In November, 1753, the president and fellows of that seminary passed votes, declaring that the students should be established in the principles of religion, according to the Assembly's Catechism, Dr. Ames's Medulla, and Cases of Conscience, and should not be suffered to be instructed in any different principles or doctrines." Vol. II. p. 70.

In the statements here made, President Quincy is scarcely more accurate, than in those which have been already examined. In the year 1753, the president and fellows of Yale College did indeed pass an act, with the design "to preserve and secure the religion of the college upon its original foundation and constitution;" in which they declare, that "the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the only rule of faith and practice, in all matters of religion;" that "the Assembly's Catechism and Confession of Faith contain a true and just summary of the most important doctrines of the Christian religion;" that "every person who shall hereafter be chosen a president, fellow, professor of divinity, or tutor, shall publicly give his consent to the said Catechism and Confession of Faith, and renounce all doctrines or principles contrary thereto;" but that "Protestants of all denominations may send their children to receive the advantages of college," provided they will conform to its laws and orders.* It does not appear, however, that "the Calvinistic sect in Massachusetts," or even "the clergy of Connecticut," taken as a body, exerted the slightest influence in procuring this act; or that it grew out of any suspicions of heresy as at that time prevailing

* See Baldwin's Annals of Yale College, p. 68.

in and around Boston. On "the New Light" question, which at that period was the one of principal interest, the college at New Haven had taken much the same ground as that at Cambridge. Both opposed Whitefield and the other Revivalists, and sided rather with Chauncy than with Edwards, in point of religious feeling and views. But a professorship of divinity was now to be founded in Yale College. An individual was to be set apart to preach to the students, and instruct them in the doctrines and duties of religion. And by President Clap and others, the opportunity was thought to be a favorable one, for providing against those *perversions* to which public institutions are always exposed, and "securing the religion of the college upon its original foundation and constitution." There is nothing, however, in the act passed at this time, requiring that "*the students* should be established in the principles of religion, according to the Assembly's Catechism, Dr. Ames's Medulla, and Cases of Conscience, and should not be suffered to be instructed in any different principles or doctrines." The preamble states, that *formerly* there had been a regulation of this nature; but the act itself lays no such injunction for the time to come.

The latter part of President Leverett's administration was far from being peaceful or happy. He was exceedingly straitened for the means of subsistence, and there seemed little disposition on the part of the representatives of people to support him. There were various embarrassing difficulties, also, in connection with college. We have mentioned already the case of Pierpont, who was refused his second degree, on the ground of allegations brought against him by one of the tutors. This circumstance, small in itself, was the means of dividing the corporation and the overseers, and was thought, for a time, to threaten the dissolution of the college itself.

This difficulty was scarcely settled, when another of a still more formidable character arose. In 1721, two of the tutors, Messrs. Sever and Welsteed, presented to the overseers a memorial, claiming seats at the board of the corporation, by virtue of being fellows and actual residents at the college. This claim, being favored by the overseers and resisted by the corporation, was carried, at length, into the legislature, and would probably have been successful, but for the firmness of Governor Shute. It was sufficient to disturb and distract the government of the college, for more than two years.

In this difficulty, as in nearly all others, "*the strict Calvinists*" are represented by President Quincy as the prime agents. These

Calvinists, like some evil genius, seem to haunt the brain of the honorable president, and are sure to be lugged in on all occasions of difficulty. The division among Christians, which his language indicates, had no existence, however, out of his brain. That there were parties in that day, and parties more or less connected with religion, there can be no doubt; but that these were based on *theological* peculiarities—on the reception by some, and rejection by others, of *the several points of Calvinism*—we have shown already was not the fact. The differences had respect rather to measures than doctrines—rather to points of ecclesiastical order and usage than to those of theological speculation. It is not certain, however, that even *these* questions had much to do with the agitations in the college government, to which we have referred. Mr. Peirce gives quite a different view of the matter from President Quincy, and one, it has seemed to us, altogether more probable. “For a long period, the number of tutors had been only two, and till the year 1720, had never exceeded three. It appears that, till then, the tutors had generally formed a part of the corporation, and had been styled Resident Fellows, or Fellows of the House. The growth of the college having rendered it necessary to increase the number of tutors to four, it was judged” inexpedient to elect them all into the corporation, and tutors Sever and Welsteed were excluded. They became dissatisfied on this account, and presented a memorial to the overseers on the subject.* We have here a very natural account of the origin of the difficulty, without the intervention of any of those religious prejudices, which President Quincy supposes were so deeply concerned in it.

THE BOUNTY OF HOLLIS TO HARVARD COLLEGE.

It was during the presidency of Leverett that the bounty of Hollis first began to flow towards Harvard College. As there are some points connected with his donations, which have long been matter of dispute, and to which President Quincy has thought proper to devote a considerable space, it will be necessary to examine them with special care.

A primary question may be, who first conferred with Hollis respecting the claims of Harvard College, and led him to make it the object of his munificence? We believe all credible history and testimony, down to the date of the History before us,

* Hist. of Harvard University, p. 117.

have ascribed this honor (if it be one) to Increase Mather. In the life of President Mather by his son, it is said : " It was *his* acquaintance with, and *his* proposal to, that good spirited man, and lover of all good men, Mr. Thomas Hollis, that introduced his benefactions into Harvard College ; to which his incomparable bounty has anon flowed to such a degree, as to render him the greatest benefactor it ever had in the world." p. 170. Also, in a vote of the corporation, passed in 1719, it is said expressly, that Increase Mather " was *instrumental* in procuring these donations." Vol. I. p. 235. But President Quincy, who seems determined that no credit shall be given to the Mathers, of which they can possibly be divested, disputes this testimony, and represents the account given by Cotton Mather, in the life of his father, as " *wholly gratuitous*, but in character with his self-glorifying spirit." In other words, he charges Cotton Mather, or his father, or both of them, with *wilful misrepresentation*, and that too for the base purpose of glorifying themselves. And on what foundation does this so severe a charge rest ? Absolutely *none at all*. It appears from the documents, that an uncle of Mr. Hollis had before bequeathed a legacy to Harvard College, and appointed him to be one of his trustees ; and Hollis says : " I have had *many thoughts* of showing some liberality to the college, ever since the death of my honored uncle." He does not say that he had *purposed* to do it, or had taken any measures towards it ; but only that he had had *thoughts* of the thing. When President Mather was in England, on his agency for the province, Mr. Hollis met him, told him of his uncle's will, and mentioned the thoughts which he had himself entertained, in regard to the same subject. And what more natural, than that President Mather should encourage him in his good designs, press home the subject upon his attention, and do what he could to *persuade* him to adopt the college as one of the objects of his bounty ? A supposition such as this, is not only natural and reasonable, but in the circumstances of the case almost *necessary*. Nor is it contradicted by aught that Mr. Hollis ever did, or by a word that he ever said or wrote on the subject. So far from this, it is the rather confirmed ; for it was known, shortly after, that Mr. Hollis had remembered the college in his will ; and in a few years, he concluded to become his own executor, and sent over his first donation to the college. This he accompanied with a letter to his old friend and acquaintance, " Mr. Increase Mather, formerly president of Harvard College, or to the gentleman who is now president thereof." The income

of this first donation being designed for the assistance of some pious young man, Increase Mather requested that it might be given to his grandson, who was then a member of college. It *was* given to him (as the corporation express it) "at the desire of his grandfather, *who was instrumental in procuring these donations.*" Mr. Hollis was soon informed of the appropriation of his bounty, and of *the reason of it*. In reply, he expresses his surprise and sorrow, that Dr. Mather's grandson should need his bounty; but adds: "I have *nothing to object*; am rather glad that he is first preferred." And now what is there in all this, to contradict the account, which President Mather, in all probability, gave of the matter, and which his son published to the world? And what is there on which to rest the charge, against one or the other, or *both* of these venerable men, of a base, and selfish, and wilful perversion of the truth? As I said before, *nothing at all*. The documents are perfectly consistent with the account of the Mathers. Indeed, they are more than consistent. They rather imply the correctness of this account, than contradict it.

The bounty of Hollis, after it had begun to flow, was like a perennial stream. As President Quincy remarks: "Scarcely a ship sailed from London, during the last ten years of his life, without bearing some evidence of his affection and liberality." The particular objects of his bounty were, first, *the library*, to the enlargement of which he devoted much time and care, as well as money; secondly, "the maintenance and education of pious young men for the ministry, who are poor in this world;" and thirdly, the endowment of professorships. He endowed a professorship of divinity, in 1721, and a professorship of mathematics, in 1726. He also sent over a philosophical apparatus, worth one hundred and fifty pounds sterling; and founts of Greek and Hebrew types.

THE HOLLIS PROFESSORSHIP OF DIVINITY.

The endowment which, from the first, has excited the deepest interest, and led to the most frequent discussion, was that of the professorship of divinity. President Quincy devotes almost an entire chapter to the consideration of this subject, and not a few of his statements require to be examined. One would think, from his representations, that Hollis had fallen into the hands of a class of rogues and jockeys, who were determined to get his

money, and yet defeat his liberal designs ; and that they actually did “ defeat the provision of his statutes, which rendered a Baptist eligible to his professorship, and substituted, in place of a belief in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, a declaration of faith in all the high points of New England Calvinism.”* p. 291. A simple narrative of the *facts* in the case will show how this matter is ;—after which, we may inquire as to the probable design of President Quincy, in laboring to discolor and distort these facts.

In the year 1720, Mr. Hollis learned, incidentally, from Dr. Colman, that there was no professor of divinity in Harvard College ; at which he expressed some surprise, and prayed to be informed immediately “ what would be a meet stipend or salary for one.” Without waiting for an answer to this inquiry, he, early in the spring of 1721, prepared and sent over a paper, giving directions how the money that had been paid by him to Harvard College, or that might be paid in his lifetime, or by his executor, should be invested, and how “ the proceeds thereof should be expended.” A part of these proceeds was to be given for the support of a professor of divinity ; a part for the assistance of poor and pious young men ; and a small sum was to be given annually to the college treasurer, “ for his pains in receiving and paying over my bounty.”

President Quincy represents this paper as the proper *foundation* of the professorship of divinity, and as embodying all the rules and orders which Hollis contemplated with respect to it. But it seems that *he* did not so regard it ; for in letters accompanying the paper itself, he requests “ *further advice and information* in that affair,” viz. “ the setting up a professorship of divinity at the college.” In compliance with this request, “ a draft” or “ scheme of a professorship” was prepared and transmitted to Mr. Hollis. In general, this “ New England scheme” met with his cordial approbation ; though he thought that it needed *some* amendments. Accordingly, he delivered it over to several worthy ministers in and around London, desiring them to make such alterations and suggestions as to them appeared needful, intending afterwards to send it back to New England “ for more mature consideration” there. The “ scheme,” or “ orders,” as amended in London, were at length returned to

* The “ stricter Calvinists” are represented (as usual) by President Quincy, as the authors of all this trickery and mischief. See p. 245.

New England; were accepted by the corporation of the college; and (with some slight modifications) by the overseers. They thus were made satisfactory to all parties, and were finally sanctioned by Mr. Hollis, in January, 1723. Subsequent to this, Mr. Hollis claimed and received a written obligation from the corporation, *binding them and their successors* faithfully to fulfil the orders, as they had been written. In a letter to Dr. Colman at this time, Mr. Hollis says: "Since my orders are now signed and sealed with you, *keep but honestly to them*, and *I shall be pleased*; not having any design at present to alter them, unless I see some very great reason for it."

President Quincy will have it, after all, that Hollis was *not pleased* with his orders; they were not what he originally intended; they were rather forced upon him by his too officious New England friends, than cordially adopted, as a matter of his own choice. He was specially displeased with the eleventh and last article, which enjoins that the professor be "a man of solid learning in divinity, of *sound and orthodox* principles." p. 248.

But how does President Quincy *know* what he has so confidently stated in relation to these matters? If he knows it at all, his knowledge must have been received by supernatural revelation; for certainly the documents contain no such intimations. The indications to be gathered from them are all in the opposite direction. The "New England scheme" or "draft" was transmitted to Hollis, in answer to his own request. Nor did he ever make any objection or complaint, that his friends had transcended his request, and sent over to him more than he desired. He thought the "scheme" needed some amendment, and he committed it to the hands of certain ministers for this purpose; but how does President Quincy know—what he *expressly states*—that it was the *eleventh article*, which Hollis thought "required amendment or modification?" Does he anywhere say so? Do the ministers to whom he referred it, say so? So far from this, they returned the eleventh article *unaltered*; and Hollis returned it *unaltered* to New England; thus unequivocally intimating that, in the judgment of all concerned on the other side of the water, *this* article required *no* modification. And when it was slightly amended, afterwards, in the board of overseers, so as to be of a more imperative character, still, Hollis made no objection to it, but sanctioned it as one of the orders of his professorship, to the end of time.

But it is said that, although Hollis consented to receive the

eleventh article, he virtually and intentionally nullified it, by immediately subjoining, as a part of his statutes, "that the only declaration required of his professor should be, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only perfect rule of faith and manners." pp. 249, 256, 263. But how, I ask again, does President Quincy *know* what the intentions of Mr. Hollis were, in causing his professor to make the above declaration? He talks and reasons about them with as much confidence and familiarity, as though he had been present at the time, with an omniscient eye, to look directly into the good man's heart. Mr. Hollis never intimated that he had any design or thought of nullifying or modifying, by the above declaration, the eleventh article of his orders; nor is there any thing in the declaration itself, which renders such a design probable. Cannot a person be "sound and orthodox," and yet receive "the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as the only perfect rule of faith and manners?" Or I might more properly ask, Can a person *be* "sound and orthodox," in the common acceptation of these terms, and not receive the Scriptures in this way?

But President Quincy is not correct in representing the declaration above quoted as constituting "a substantive part" of the "rules and orders" of Hollis. The "rules and orders" are a paper by themselves, consisting of eleven articles, signed and sealed by the hand of the founder. The declaration referred to is contained in another paper, entitled "a plan or form for the professor of divinity to agree to, at his inauguration."

Still farther from accuracy is President Quincy, in representing (as he does repeatedly) that a profession of belief in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament is the *only* declaration to be required of the professor. So far from being the *only* declaration, it is but one among many others. At his inauguration, the professor must first "repeat his oaths to the civil government;" then, he must declare his belief in the Scriptures, as before stated; next, he "promises to open and explain the Scriptures to his pupils with integrity and faithfulness, according to the best light that God shall give him." He also "promises to promote true piety and godliness by his example and instruction"; to "consult the good of the college and the peace of the churches, on all occasions;" and "religiously to observe the statutes of his founder." p. 538. These several declarations and engagements are all contained—not in the "rules and orders" of Hollis—but in his "plan or form

for the professor of divinity to agree to, at his inauguration." Yet our author asserts repeatedly, "that the *only* declaration required of the professor should be, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only perfect rule of faith and manners." pp. 256, 263.

President Quincy supposes that the design of Hollis, in requiring the above declaration, was, that a Baptist might not be excluded from the professor's chair, under the eleventh article of his orders, on the ground that he was not orthodox. But Hollis had effectually provided against an interpretation like this, in the *first* article of his orders, which makes the Baptist equally eligible to the office, as the Congregationalist, or the Presbyterian. The professor must "be a Master of Arts, and in communion with some Christian church of one of the three denominations, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, or *Baptist*." How would it be possible for men, who had proposed this article to Hollis, and adopted it, and bound themselves and their successors to abide by it, afterwards to exclude a man from the office, on the simple ground that he was a Baptist, and that a Baptist was not "sound and orthodox?" At any rate, if this *first article* would not have prevented the corporation from excluding a Baptist, the declaration in the form of inauguration would have presented no kind of obstacle to such a procedure.

President Quincy thinks that, in examining Mr. Wigglesworth, the first Hollis professor of divinity, on the points of Calvinism, and more especially in regard to his belief of infant baptism, the corporation of the college showed an utter disregard of the wishes of Hollis, and even of his written orders. He is indignant that Mr. Wigglesworth should have been examined at all; and particularly that he should have been examined on such points as those referred to above, p. 255. But what indignity was it, either to the founder of the professorship, or to the candidate for office, that he was required to be examined? According to Mr. Peirce, up to this time and for years afterwards, all the college officers, "even the tutors, *were examined as to their religious principles*;"* and it would have been strange if the professor of divinity had been excused. And the orders of Hollis, so far from being violated by a formal examination, could not have been intelligently and faithfully fulfilled without it. The professor must be "a man of

* Hist. of Harvard University, p. 788.

solid learning in divinity, and of sound and orthodox principles." But how should an individual be *known* to be such a man, until he had first been tested and proved? Whatever meaning may have been attached to the term *orthodoxy*, how should the electors satisfy themselves that the candidate for office possessed this indispensable qualification, until he had submitted to be examined?

The points of Calvinism, on which Mr. Wigglesworth was examined, show conclusively what was meant by the term *orthodox*, in the days of Hollis. No man then could be soundly orthodox who was not soundly Calvinistic. That a Calvinistic Baptist was held to be orthodox is moreover proved, from a comparison of the first of the orders of Hollis with the eleventh. The professor, according to the first order, *might* be a Baptist. But according to the eleventh, he *must* be orthodox. Hence, in the judgment of all concerned in the framing or adopting of these orders, the profession of Baptist principles was consistent with orthodoxy. And hence, the examination of Mr. Wigglesworth in regard to his belief of infant baptism could have had no reference to the question of his *orthodoxy*, or to his qualifications for office *according to the rules of Hollis*, but must have been for the private satisfaction of some or all of the electors. There was nothing *contradictory* to the rules of Hollis, in this part of the examination; since, whether they found the candidate a believer in infant baptism or not, still they had a right, by the rules, to elect him. And as they had perfect liberty to go into such an examination, doubtless some of the electors felt that they should be better satisfied, after an examination had taken place.

President Quincy presumes that Hollis never knew of this examination, from the fact that he made no complaint in regard to it. p. 256. But I see not why he should have complained, if he had known it. He knew almost every thing else that took place, with reference to the college, about this time, and I see no reason to doubt that he was made early and fully acquainted with this. He certainly would *approve* of the examination, on all points, unless it were that of infant baptism. He expected the corporation to examine his professor, and satisfy themselves that he was "sound and orthodox." He would have blamed them, and with good reason, had they consented to act in the dark, in respect to a matter of so much importance. And with regard to the examination on infant baptism, as it would be a gratification to some of the electors, and as there was

nothing in it inconsistent with his orders, he doubtless was willing that they should do as they pleased. As the examination of Professor Wigglesworth was a public matter, the results of which, after long debates, were entered on the records of the overseers; and as Hollis was certainly knowing to these debates, and found fault with the spirit manifested in them; it is morally certain that he knew of the examination. I see not how it could have been kept from him; or why any one, at that day, should have desired to keep it from him. And as he never uttered a word of complaint in regard to it, the conclusion is, that it met his approbation.

This effort of President Quincy is but one of the many, which have been put forth within the last forty years, to get rid of the eleventh article in the "rules and orders" of Hollis. Formerly it was said, that Hollis was not a Calvinist, and that he used the phrase "sound and orthodox," not in the usual Calvinistic sense. "A man might be 'sound and orthodox,' and yet be an Arminian, or a Unitarian." But it has been often proved, and is now admitted by Unitarians themselves, that *Hollis was a Calvinist*. "He was educated in a belief of Calvinism," says the Christian Examiner. "He used the language of a Calvinist, and *thought himself one*."*

The Christian Register, in 1829, said: Mr. Hollis was "in speculation, in form, if not in fact, a *Calvinist* of the old fashioned stamp, retaining the original features of the Genevan image." And President Quincy says, the letters of Hollis "bear traces of his belief in those general doctrines, in which all the prevailing sects of Christians, throughout Christendom, at that day concurred." p. 241. In other words, he was, in belief, a Calvinist.

It has been said again, that though Hollis was a Calvinist, he was not a bigot. He was a catholic, liberal-minded man, and entertained the most charitable feelings towards Christians of other denominations.†—Now we admit that Hollis *was* a lib-

* Vol. VII. p. 97.

† President Quincy has much to say in praise of the catholic spirit of Hollis; and remarks that, "in the spring of 1719, having watched the course of the college for many years, and satisfied himself that the views of the corporation were catholic and liberal, he resolved to be the executor of his own will, and to have the pleasure of witnessing the results of his own benevolence." p. 232. Yet with strange inconsistency, he says,

eral-minded man, embracing in his charity all who seemed to him to be true friends to Christ. The fact that, though himself a decided Baptist, he was a member and an officer of a Presbyterian church, during the greater part of his life; as also the giving of his money for the support of college professors and students, who were not of his own denomination, are sufficient evidence of this. But what does his liberality prove? That he did not mean any thing, by the eleventh article of his "rules and orders?" Or that he used the words "sound and orthodox," without reference to any particular class of religious opinions or doctrines? Not at all. He certainly could not have so used these words, at least if he expected to be understood. For it may be shown conclusively, from the current language of the English Dissenters in those times, and even from the correspondence of Hollis himself, that these words then had a *definite meaning*—as definite as any that could well be selected—importing that those to whom they were applied received substantially the Calvinistic doctrines. Indeed, this is admitted by the conductors of the *Christian Examiner*. They say: "Doubtless the term in question" (orthodox) "was often used by the Dissenters in Hollis's time, and by Mr. Hollis himself, as *synonymous with Calvinistic*." Vol. VII. p. 102. And President Quincy virtually admits the same, when he represents the Calvinistic doctrines as those "in which *all the prevailing sects of Christians throughout Christendom, at that day, concurred*." p. 241.

It was learnedly argued, only a few years ago, that in requiring his professor to be "sound and orthodox," Hollis only intended that he should be a *worthy man*—a man of *correct principles*—*in the judgment of the electors for the time being*.* But this pretence was too shallow and futile, to be long satisfactory to any one. It supposes the good Mr. Hollis, after consultation with learned divines in Europe, to direct and *bind* the corporation of Harvard College never to choose one to be professor of divinity, whom *they* thought to be a bad man !!

on the next page: "He selected for the object of his extraordinary bounties, an institution, in which he knew that those of his faith were regarded with dread by some, and with detestation by others, and where he had reason to think, as he averred, that the very portrait of a Baptist, though of a benefactor, would be the subject of insult !!" p. 233.

* See *Chris. Examiner*, Vol. VII. p. 101.

Whose principles *they* regarded as unsound, unscriptural, and of pernicious tendency !!

Indeed, we infer, that all these former shifts and glosses, by which to get rid of Hollis's eleventh article, are unsatisfactory (as we should think they would be) to President Quincy: for he sets himself to the work of demolishing the obnoxious article, in a very different way. He would have us believe, that it really has no place in the orders; that Hollis never intended it should be there; that it was crowded in by the New England bigots, in opposition to his original design; and that, because he could not well exclude it, when once it had been introduced, he resolved to nullify it, by a subjoined declaration. Now this is all very plausible, and would be very agreeable, no doubt, to certain interested individuals,—*if it were only true*. But unfortunately, on examination, there is scarcely a word of truth in it. This eleventh article was part of a "scheme" or "draft," which was transmitted to Mr. Hollis from this country, at his own request. He made not the slightest objection to it, of which we have any knowledge. It was submitted by him to the London divines, and they made no objection. It was sent back to New England, where it passed the ordeal of the corporation and the overseers of the college without objection, except that in the latter body it was slightly modified, so as to increase its binding force. It passes again into the hands of Hollis, and meets his approbation. He signs it, and seals it, and requires a written bond of the corporation that they will fulfil it, and tells them that, if they do so, *he shall be pleased*. And as to the subsequent declaration, we have seen that it is perfectly consistent with this eleventh article, as it is with every other part of the "rules and orders." It is a declaration which no "sound and orthodox" man can ever be unwilling to make.

The inquiry naturally arises (and it may as well be solved here as anywhere): Why this multifarious and pertinacious opposition to the eleventh article of Hollis's orders? Why not let it stand, as he left it, and interpret it fairly and consistently, as every one sees that he intended it should be? The curators of the college had no difficulty with this article, during the first eighty years after it was established, and why should they have so much difficulty now? Why is one theory after another advanced and abandoned, in hope that some one may at length be found, which shall serve to gloss over the obnoxious article, or to take it fairly out of the way? An answer to these several

inquiries will be furnished, by looking at the characters of the several individuals who have been appointed to the professor's chair, on the foundation of Mr. Hollis.

The first was a "sound and orthodox" divine, elected under the eye of Hollis, and in strict consistency with his "rules and orders." "Preceding the choice," says President Leverett in his report to the overseers, "he was *examined* upon several important heads of divinity." He declared his assent to Dr. Ames's *Medulla Theologiæ*; to the confession of faith contained in the Assembly's Catechism; and to the doctrinal articles of the Church of England;—more particularly, 1. To the doctrine of the holy Trinity. 2. To the doctrine of the eternal Godhead of the blessed Saviour. 3. To the doctrine of predestination. 4. To the doctrine of special, efficacious grace. 5. To the divine right of infant baptism." p. 255. Here, then, we have an incontestable, practical comment on what Mr. Hollis and his advisers meant by *orthodoxy*, and the kind of man which he approved, to be placed on his foundation.

The second professor of divinity,—the son of the first,—was inaugurated in October, 1765. Previous to his election, he too was examined "concerning his principles in divinity, whether they were orthodox;" and gave full satisfaction to the corporation. Vol. II. p. 131.

The Rev. Dr. Tappan, the third professor of divinity in Harvard College, was inducted into office, in 1792. He too was a "sound and orthodox" divine—well qualified to sit in the chair which the liberality of Hollis had provided. Of course, there was no occasion, up to the time of his death, which occurred in 1803, of disputing about the meaning of Mr. Hollis's orders.

After the death of Dr. Tappan, the professorship of divinity remained vacant for more than a year. The corporation was divided—for a time equally—so that nothing could be done. At length, a change was known to have taken place, so that a majority could be obtained for Dr. Ware; and in November, 1804, the corporation were called on in the public papers to act, and not to wait for greater unanimity. A warm newspaper discussion now commenced, and was continued—chiefly on one side—till after the election was made and confirmed. In opposition to the election of Dr. Ware, it was urged that he was understood to be a *Unitarian*. But his friends replied, that he had never professed the sentiment imputed to him, and that to mention such a thing was a calumny. It was further insisted,

that the overseers had no evidence, and could obtain none, of his possessing the qualifications required by the founder of the professorship. "The right to examine him was denied" them. His "particular religious principles, though often asked for, were not disclosed." "It was particularly asked, whether he was a believer in that important doctrine, the Divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ ;" but "the reply conveyed no precise or satisfactory answer on that point."* So far were the opposers of Dr. Ware's election from being convinced that he was of "sound and orthodox principles," according to the intent of Mr. Hollis, that they had the utmost reason to believe, from his silence, and from a variety of collateral evidence, that this was not the case. It was insisted, therefore, that whatever they might think of him as a man, and whatever judgment they might, as individuals, form, in regard to his principles, they were *bound* by the orders of Mr. Hollis, and by the solemn pledges which had been given him, and could not vote to confirm the election.

Those who opposed the election of Dr. Ware were at that time the subjects of much severe reproach. They were attacked, in some of the publications of the day, and without decency or mercy ; and the most of them have gone down unforgiven to the grave. But posterity will certainly do them justice. Future generations will appreciate their motives and honor their correctness of principle, their decision and firmness.

Of Dr. Ware himself, I certainly have no disposition to speak reproachfully. His situation is, of all men's, least to be envied. He has arrived to that period, when the countenance and caresses of interested and partial friends can avail him little. That he possesses talents, and learning, and a great many estimable qualities, I do not doubt ; but on the question of his accepting and holding the Hollis professorship of divinity in Harvard College, the impartial of all denominations have formed their judgment, and it will not be reversed. He knew the conditions of this professorship ; he knew the solemn pledges which had been given in respect to it ; he knew, also, his own religious sentiments, though he took care that others should not know them ; yet, he accepted the appointment, promised that he would "religiously observe the statutes of his founder," and for nearly forty years, received his bread, or a portion of it, from

* Morse's True Reasons, etc., p. 19.

a professorship, which was founded by a strictly orthodox man, and was consecrated and solemnly pledged for the support of such a man, in all future time.

Nor is even this, perhaps, the worst of the case. In 1747, Daniel Henchman, Esq., of Boston, left a legacy, to aid in the support of the Hollis professor of divinity in Harvard College. It was bequeathed and accepted on the express condition, that "the person in that office shall profess and teach the principles of the Christian religion, *according to the well known Confession of Faith drawn up by the synod of the churches of New England*;—which confession is *strictly Calvinistic*. But Dr. Ware neither professes nor teaches the principles of the Christian religion, according to this confession. He professes and teaches entirely different principles. Yet the Henchman legacy is retained, and during his whole term of office, Dr. Ware consented to receive the avails of it.

For this gross and palpable perversion, President Quincy presents no apology; and I know not that any has ever been attempted. To justify their misappropriation of Hollis's donations, Unitarians have resorted to all those shifts and pretences which have been before examined and exposed. At first, it was insisted, that Hollis was not a Calvinist;—and then, that though he was a Calvinist, he was a liberal-minded man, and could not have used the term *orthodox*, in the customary sense;—and next, that in whatever sense he used the term, he could only have intended that the candidate should be a man of correct principles, *in the judgment of the electors for the time being*;—and now, last of all, that the entire eleventh article, in which the obnoxious term occurs, does not properly belong to Hollis, but was forced upon him by the bigots with whom he had to do.* Between these different pretences, which have been so laboriously set up, there is little to choose. One is worth about as much as another. They are all baseless and frivolous in the extreme; and would never have been resorted to by learned and sensible men, but for the desire they felt to cover over a transaction, which never can be satisfactorily excused. The election of a Unitarian to the professorship of divinity in Harvard College, and the sustaining him there for nearly forty

* And yet, says Dr. Colman: "It was the free and catholic spirit of the seminary"—at the time when it was controlled by these Calvinistic bigots—"which took his generous heart."

years, can *never* be reconciled with the expressed will of the generous founder of the professorship, and the assurances given him that his orders should be respected.

OTHER DONATIONS.

Nor is this the only perversion of the bounty of Hollis, with which the government of Harvard College is justly chargeable. The sums which he gave, from time to time, to promote the cause of charitable education, were all intended for "poor and *pious* young men." And who is a *pious* young man, in the sense of the Calvinistic Hollis? What meaning must he have attached to the important distinctive epithet here employed? He, and he only, is *pious*, in the sense of Hollis, who has been awakened, convinced, and hopefully regenerated, by the Spirit of God—who, under a sense of his guilty and desperate condition, has fled for refuge to the hope set before him, and put his trust in the atoning blood of Christ—and who, having submitted to Christ, endeavors to obey and follow him, and to walk in all his commandments and ordinances blameless. In short, he only is *pious*, in the sense of Hollis, who is truly *evangelical*, in spirit and feeling, in heart and life. But are young men of this character *uniformly* selected, as beneficiaries of the Hollis funds? Let those who have the disbursing of these funds answer it to their own consciences, as they must one day answer it to a higher tribunal.

Nor is it the donations of Hollis alone, that have been perverted after this manner. Many others are in the same predicament. Take the following as an example. In the year 1657, the Hon. Edward Hopkins, previously governor of Connecticut, died in England; and among other instances of his great liberality, ordered that "five hundred pounds be made over into New England, for the *upholding and promoting the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, in those parts of the earth.*" This sum afterwards fell to the corporation of Harvard College; and the avails of the fund created by it, or a large portion of them, have been appropriated, year after year, for the support of *Unitarian students, in the Cambridge Theological School*. Governor Hopkins first came to this country, in company with Mr. Davenport, in 1637. He was a *strict Puritan and Calvinist*—a hearer and admirer of the excellent Mr. Hooker, at Hartford. He considered Unitarianism as not only different from, but op-

posed to "the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ," and would sooner have thrown away his money, than have given it for the education of Unitarian ministers.

It is a solemn thing to hold, in trust, the benefactions of the dead, and to come under obligations, expressed or implied, to dispose of these benefactions according to their wishes. It is a fearful thing to *trifle* with such obligations, and turn aside the bounty of the dead to purposes which *they* would never have patronized. There is an eye which sees such things, although the eyes of the deceased are closed. There is a voice which will one day reprove them, though the lips of the departed are sealed forever.*

In managing their theological funds, the corporation of Harvard College have a somewhat difficult task to perform. They have received the money of Mr. Hollis, and bound themselves to expend a specified portion of it, in the support of a professor of divinity, who shall be a man of "sound and orthodox principles," in the customary, Calvinistic sense. They have also received the money of Deacon Henchman, and are under obligations to bestow the income of it upon the Hollis professor of divinity, "so long as he shall profess and teach the principles of the Christian religion, according to the well known Confession of Faith, drawn up by the synod of the churches of New England." It further appears, that the corporation are "residuary legatees, under the will of the late Henry Lienow, Esq., of Boston;" and the income of his money, when received, they will be bound to appropriate, "in furtherance of the *Unitarian faith*,

* From the lists of donations in the volumes before us, it appears that not less than 20,000 pounds, in *money*, besides books, lands, and other donations, were given by individuals in this country and in England, to Harvard College, previous to the year 1780. The great body of these individuals were *strict Calvinists*—the friends and promoters of *evangelical religion*; and they made their donations, on the supposition, and with the expectation, that the institution was to continue (what it ever had been) the defender and promoter of the *evangelical faith*. They certainly never would have given their money—more than they would have burned it in the fire, or buried it in the ocean—could they have dreamed that Harvard College, in the early part of the nineteenth century, would be publicly claimed as "the pure, uncorrupted fountain head of *Unitarianism*."

and the inculcation of *liberal Christianity*." II. p. 599. How they will manage this seemingly difficult matter, so as to satisfy the heirs at law, the public and their own consciences, we pretend not to say. One thing, however, we shall venture to say: Let not this legacy of Mr. Lienow be forgotten. And when Harvard University shall be restored "to Christ and the church," and come again under the control of the friends of evangelical religion—and we have no more doubt of such a restoration, than we have that "the earth shall" one day "be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea"—let this entire sum of money, be it more or less, be carefully restored to the lawful heirs of Mr. Lienow. Let not an orthodox corporation, in that day, rise up and plead, 'We are all *Unitarians*. We all believe in the existence of one God. We, too, are *liberal Christians*, in the best sense of the terms; and hence are fairly entitled to the income of this legacy.' Let there be no such shuffling, such trifling as this. An orthodox corporation, when they come into place, (and God is able to bring them there much sooner than some men now imagine,) will know in what sense Mr. Lienow employed terms in his will; and they will carefully take every farthing of his money, separate it from other college funds, and go and place it in the hands of his legal representatives, to be disposed of as they shall see good.

THE PRESIDENCIES OF WADSWORTH AND HOLYOKE.

After the death of President Leverett, and the failure of two successive attempts to obtain a president for the college, the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, the worthy pastor of the first church in Boston, was duly elected, and accepted the appointment. He was inaugurated, July 7th, 1725, and continued in office till his death, which occurred in March, 1737. It was during his presidency, that the Episcopal ministers of Boston made a vigorous effort to obtain seats at the board of overseers, and were repulsed. It was at this period, also, that Mr. Hollis founded his second professorship, viz., that of mathematics and natural philosophy.

The successor of President Wadsworth was Mr. Edward Holyoke, one of the ministers of Marblehead. He was elected May 30th, 1737; but not until all scruples had been removed as to the question of his orthodoxy. The Rev. Mr. Barnard, of

Marblehead, relates, seriatim, a conversation which he had on the subject, at the table of Governor Belcher. The governor having inquired as to Mr. Holyoke's qualifications, in general, for the presidency, and Mr. Barnard having answered him to his satisfaction, his excellency proceeded to ask pointedly: "But can you vouch for Mr. Holyoke's *Calvinistic principles*?" "To which," says Mr. Barnard, "I replied: If more than thirty years' intimacy, and more than twenty years' living in the same town with him, and after conversing with him, and scores of times hearing him preach, can lead me into the knowledge of a man's principles, I think Mr. Holyoke *as orthodox a Calvinist as any man*; though I look upon him too much of a gentleman, and of too catholic a temper, to cram his principles down another man's throat." "Then," said his excellency, "I believe he must be the man."* And he *was* the man.

The presidency of Holyoke was long and eventful. Near the commencement of it, two of the immediate officers of the college, viz., Greenwood, the first Hollis professor of mathe-

* Mass. Hist. Collections, 3d series, Vol. V. p. 221. In his Convention Sermon, preached May 28, 1741, President Holyoke says: "Much more are we to guard against those who are tainted with *the doctrines of Arius*; who, though they call themselves Christians, *are not worthy of the name*; while they endeavor to rob Christ of his Divinity, and set him at an infinite distance below the Divine nature."—"Again; there are the doctrines of *the Sadducees*, which you are to take heed and beware of, as *the Deism* of the present day."—"And very little less so are the errors of *Socinus*, which may well be ranked under the head of Sadducism, in that the men of this way *reject the revelations of the gospel*, at the same time they pretend to believe something of them. For while they assert that Christ was a mere man; that he had no existence, before he was born of the virgin; that what he did was not to give satisfaction to God for sin, but only to give men a pattern of heroic virtue, and to seal his doctrines by his death; while original sin, grace, and predestination pass with them for mere chimeras, the sacraments are esteemed empty ceremonies, and they also deny the immensity of God and his omniscience, for they allow him not the knowledge of *contingencies*;—I say, while these, and many more gross heresies are held by them, *they undermine the very bottom and foundation of the religion of Jesus, the Son of God, and are therefore in danger of hell-fire.*"

matics, and Nathan Prince, one of the tutors, were dismissed for intemperance.

At the first commencement, after the inauguration of Holyoke, some of the questions on the printed order of exercises excited alarm, as indicating, on the part of those who were to discuss them, a leaning towards Arianism. Wherefore, the orders were required "to be altered with pen and ink," and solemn inquiry was instituted on the subject, by a committee of the overseers.

In August, 1738, John Winthrop, Esq., of Boston, was elected Hollis professor of mathematics, in place of Professor Greenwood, who had been dismissed. Mr. Peirce thinks him the first college officer that had ever been elected, without a strict previous inquiry into his religious principles.*

REVIVAL UNDER THE PREACHING OF WHITEFIELD.

It was early in the presidency of Mr. Holyoke, that the great revival of religion commenced in Boston and the vicinity, under the preaching of Whitefield and others. As President Quincy has devoted a considerable space to this subject, it will be necessary to follow him, and review his statements.

The Rev. George Whitefield made his first visit to Georgia, in 1738, being then not more than twenty-three years of age. He soon went back to England to receive priest's orders, and to collect contributions for his projected orphan house. He returned to his charge in Georgia in the following year; and shortly after, received pressing invitations from Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper, joint pastors of the Brattle-street church in Boston, to make a visit to New England. As he approached Boston, in the month of September, 1740, he was met, several miles from the city, by the governor's son, and many of the clergy and principal inhabitants, who escorted him into town. He commenced his labors in the Brattle-street church, but extended them to the other churches, and at length to the common, where he is supposed to have addressed 20,000 people at once. He was greatly honored by Governor Belcher, Mr. Secretary Willard, and the principal ministers of the town, if we except Dr. Chauncy, who was then comparatively a young man. Mr.

* Hist. of Harv. University, p. 188.

Foxcroft of the first church, Messrs. Colman and Cooper of Brattle-street, Messrs. Sewall and Prince of the Old South, Mr. Cheekley of the New South, Mr. Gee of the Old North, and Messrs. Webb and Elliot of the New North, were all among his constant hearers and admirers. Old Mr. Walter, of Roxbury, the immediate successor of John Elliot, represented the preaching of Whitefield as "Puritanism revived;" and Dr. Colman declared the period of his visit to be "the happiest day he ever saw in his life."

Mr. Whitefield, while in New England, did not confine his labors to Boston. He proceeded east as far as York (Maine); and on his return south, he visited Northampton, and several towns in that vicinity.

While staying in Boston, Mr. Whitefield visited Cambridge, and preached there with his usual power and effect. In a letter addressed to him, shortly after his departure, Dr. Colman says :

"At Cambridge, the college is entirely changed. The students are full of God, and will, I hope, come out blessings in their generation. Many of them are now, we think, truly born again, and several of them happy instruments of conversion to their fellows. The voice of prayer and praise fills their chambers, and sincerity, fervency and joy, with seriousness of heart, sit visibly on their faces. I was told yesterday, that *not seven*, of a hundred, remain unaffected. I know how these good tidings will affect you." So hopeful were the appearances at college, that the overseers appointed a day of thanksgiving on account of it, and "earnestly recommended to the president, professors, tutors, and instructors, by personal application to the students under impressions of a religious nature, and by all other means, to encourage and promote this good work." II. p. 43.

But notwithstanding Mr. Whitefield's honorable reception in New England, and the abundant success which attended his labors, the impression seems to have been forced upon his mind, that there had been, and was, a great want of spirituality in the churches, and among ministers, and in fact that not a few of the ministers had no experimental acquaintance with the gospel. To this impression he sometimes gave utterance in the pulpit, and in conversation. He also recorded it in his journal, which was afterward published. It was *the publication of this journal*, which disturbed the feelings of many of the New England ministers, and brought him into open controversy with some of the officers of Harvard College. The more offensive

passages in his journal, are the following. Speaking of Boston, he says :

“Both ministers and magistrates were exceeding civil to me, during my stay. I never saw so little scoffing ; never had so little opposition. But one might easily foresee much would hereafter arise, when I come to be more particular, in my application to particular persons ; for I fear *many, many rest in a head knowledge, and are close Pharisees, having only a name to live.* It must needs be so, when the power of godliness is dwindled away, and the form only of religion is become fashionable among a people.”

Under date of Wednesday, Sept. 24th, Whitefield says : “Went this morning to see and preach at Cambridge, the chief college for training up the sons of the prophets, in all New England. It has one president, four tutors, and upwards of a hundred students. It is scarce as big as one of our least colleges in Oxford ; and as far as I could gather from some who well knew the state of it, not far superior to our universities, in piety and true godliness. *Tutors neglect to pray with, and examine the hearts of their pupils. Discipline is at too low an ebb. Bad books are become fashionable amongst them.* Tillotson and Clark are read, instead of Shepard, Stoddard, and such like evangelical writers ; and therefore I chose to preach from those words, ‘We are not as many, who corrupt the word of God.’ In the conclusion of my sermon, I made a close application to tutors and students.”

On leaving New England, he says : “*Many, nay, perhaps most that preach, I fear, do not experimentally know Christ ; yet, I cannot see much worldly advantage to tempt them to take upon them the sacred function.*”—“As for the universities, I believe it may be said, ‘*Their light has now become darkness—darkness that may be felt—and is complained of by the most godly ministers.* I pray God those fountains may be purified, and send forth pure streams, to water the city of our God.”*

As remarked above, it was the *publication* of passages such as these, which excited the displeasure of not a few of the New England ministers, and brought Whitefield into open conflict with a portion of the faculty at Cambridge. It will be necessary, therefore, to examine into the truth and propriety of these published statements. And first, in regard to the religious state of many of the *churches and ministers.* It will be observed, Whitefield does not represent these as heretical or immoral ; but rather as cold, formal, conformed to the world, and in many instances, he feared, without true religion. And when we consider that, for a long period, there had been no general revival of religion in New England, at least in the southeastern

* See Whitefield’s Journal at New England, pp. 55—96.

section of it—that for three-fourths of a century, the plan of the half-way covenant had been in general operation—and that the practice prevailed extensively of receiving persons of sober life to the communion of the churches, without so much as a profession of a change of heart;—when, I say, these things are considered, we might expect them to be followed by much such a state of spiritual declension as that which Whitefield describes. Accordingly we find, from concurrent testimony, that the churches *were actually* in this cold, backslidden state. Mr. Parsons, of Newburyport, says: “It was then a time in New England, that real Christians generally had slackened their zeal for Christ, and fallen into *a remiss and careless frame of spirit*; and hypocritical professors *were sunk into a deep sleep of carnal security*. Ministers and their congregations seemed to be at ease.” Mr. Shurtleff, of Portsmouth, speaking of the state of the churches, says: “No serious Christian could behold it without a heavy heart, and scarce without a weeping eye; to see the solid, substantial piety, for which our ancestors were justly renowned, having long languished under sore decays, brought *so low*, and seemingly *just ready to give up the ghost*.” Dr. Holmes says, in his Annals, that “the zeal which had characterized the churches of New England, at an earlier period, had, previous to Whitefield’s arrival, subsided; and a calm, perhaps *lethargic state*, ensued.” Dr. Chauncy, the great opponent of Whitefield, not only admits (by implication) that many of the ministers, at that day, were unconverted, but he attempts to justify it. “The first error I would take notice of,” in the preaching of Whitefield, “is that which supposes ministers, if not converted, incapable of being instruments of spiritual good to men’s souls.” “But conversion does not appear to be alike necessary for ministers, *in their public capacity, as officers of the church*, as it is in their private capacity.” Indeed, the Christian Examiner says that, at the time of which we speak, “a *heavy jejune style of preaching prevailed almost universally*, and made any thing, in comparison, interesting and exciting.” Vol. IV. p. 478.

In considering the representations of Whitefield as to the state of the New England colleges, and especially of Harvard College, it is important that we keep in mind the *standard* by which he judged of it. He had no reference, in his remarks, to its *literary* character, or to its *moral* character, or even to its *religious* character, as estimated according to the ordinary stand-

ard of the times. He did not mean to say that the students were ill-instructed; or that they were grossly immoral; though judging from President Quincy's account of them,—only a few years before, as well as after, this period—of their drinking, and feasting, and dancing, and frolicking, and of the various methods resorted to by the government to restrain them, we fear that something of *this* sort might have been said, without violating truth. Neither does Whitefield mean to say, that the forms of religion were not maintained in college, with their customary decency and regularity. But, estimating the religious character of college according to *his high, spiritual, revival* standard—as a place where the interests of the soul should be regarded as paramount to all others—where should be sought, first of all and above all, the kingdom of God and his righteousness—and such was originally designed to be the character of Harvard College—he judged it to be in an unfavorable, unhappy condition. “Tutors neglect to pray with, and examine the hearts of their pupils.” Not that they do not have public prayers, morning and evening, in the chapel; but they do not send for the students privately to their rooms, as Increase Mather was accustomed to do; or see them in their own rooms; and there converse and pray with them, and endeavor to promote their conversion and salvation. “Bad books have become fashionable among them.” By bad books, Whitefield meant, not immoral books, or books of a grossly heretical character, but those which did not relate directly to *vital, experimental, heart* religion;—which had no tendency to bring and bind the soul to Christ. This is certain, from his classing the works of Clark and Tillotson among *bad* books, in distinction from those of Shepard and Stoddard, which he reckoned as good. And when Whitefield complained further, that the light of the universities had become darkness, he continued to use language in the same sense. The New England colleges had ceased to be nurseries of glowing, evangelical *piety*—places of high *spiritual* privilege and enjoyment; and had become little more than schools of mere secular learning.

That this is the manner in which the statements of Whitefield should be interpreted, there can be no doubt. And thus interpreted, it is presumed that they were not far from the truth. Indeed, this is evident, if there were no other proof, from the replies which were made to him. Prof. Wigglesworth, in his reply, does not pretend that the tutors prayed and conversed with their pupils, in the sense of Whitefield, but argues that

this was not incumbent on them, or to be expected from them.

But it is not enough for the clearing of Whitefield, to show that, in the sense in which he used language, his charges were substantially true. "The truth is not to be spoken at all times"—nor under all circumstances. Was it discreet and proper for him—a young man, and almost a stranger in New England—to utter such charges against the churches, and ministers, and colleges of the country, and to publish them in the pages of his journal? *We think not.* And so thought Jonathan Edwards at the time, and endeavored to dissuade his young friend from his severe rebukes of unconverted ministers. And so thought Whitefield himself afterwards, and humbly asked the forgiveness of those whom he had in this way offended. He regretted that he had relied so implicitly on hearsay evidence, and yielded so much to the persuasions of zealous but misguided friends. Among these friends, and very prominent among them, no doubt, was Governor Belcher. He used to say to the young evangelist: "Go on, Mr. Whitefield, in stirring up ministers; for reformation must begin at the house of God. And do not spare rulers—no, not the *chief* of them—any more than ministers." But at this early period of his ministerial career, Whitefield needed no such advice as this. He needed the bit more than the spur. He needed the judicious counsels of such a friend as Jonathan Edwards, more than the stirring incitements of the ardent but well-meaning Governor Belcher. And so he himself regarded the subject at a later period.

The controversy between Whitefield and his friends, and the college and its friends, was carried on warmly for a time; in which President Quincy would persuade us that nearly all the truth, and the decency, were on one side. We think, however, that an impartial critic, who should read all the pamphlets, would judge differently.* In the spirit of Whitefield, there was little that was bitter, and nothing vindictive. He became, afterwards, not only a friend of Harvard College, but one of

* Among the champions of Whitefield was the learned and eloquent Rev. William Hobby, of Reading. His book was replied to by a Layman of Boston, in a publication entitled, "*A Twig of Birch for Billy's Breech.*" In point of decency, the whole work was very coincident with its title.

its benefactors. In the latter part of his life, he presented to the college library a new edition of his journals, and "procured for it large benefactions from several benevolent and respectable gentlemen" in England;—for which he received a vote of thanks from the corporation, in the year 1768.*

The controversy respecting Whitefield and the revival was not confined to Harvard College. It spread through the vicinity, and indeed through the greater part of New England. The evils of it, like almost all other evils, are ascribed, in the work before us, to the views, preaching, and measures of "the strict Calvinists." Unfortunately, however, for President Quincy, his very special and liberal friend, Dr. Colman, stands now in the foremost rank among the patrons of Whitefield and the revival. It was Colman and Cooper, who first invited Whitefield into New England. It was a brother-in-law of Colman with whom he lodged, during his visit to Boston. It was in the Brattle-street church that he commenced his labors. Dr. Colman continued to follow and laud him, to defend and support him, during the whole of his first visit to New England. And when he came into the country the second time, in 1745—when many of the ministers had denounced him, and the officers of college had published their testimony against him; still, Dr. Colman was his unfailing friend. He not only received him directly to his pulpit, but invited him to administer the Lord's supper to his church; much to the grief of some of his more exclusive and less liberal ministerial friends. I say *less liberal* ministerial friends: for Dr. Colman was not only a decided Calvinist, but a *truly liberal man*. And so was Whitefield a *liberal man*. Yes, if there was ever a man who deserved to be called a *truly liberal Christian*, that man was George Whitefield. He loved all those who seemed to him to love his Master. He opened his heart, and extended his Christian fellowship, to all alike. It was no part of his object, anywhere, to build up a sect. If he could arouse the careless, alarm the secure, and bring wandering sinners to the fold of Christ, they might join any church, or go to any sect they pleased.

Dr. Colman was now a venerable father in Israel, and lived but a few years after the second visit of Whitefield to New England. But his regard for him seems never to have abated.

* Gillie's Life of Whitefield, p. 194.

He continued his unwavering friend to the last. He was also the friend of the other more respectable Revivalists, both in this country and in Europe. By his letters, he encouraged them; and by his earnest recommendations, he endeavored to promote the circulation of their books.* And not only Dr. Colman, but most of the other ministers in Boston and the vicinity, who were friendly to Whitefield and the revival at the first, continued to be so to the end. In the summer of 1743, almost three years after the revival commenced, there was a convention in Boston, the day after commencement, at which ninety ministers, from different parts of the country, bore their united testimony to the "late happy revival of religion, through a remarkable Divine influence, in many parts of this land." Forty-five ministers, who could not be present, making no less than one hundred and thirty-five in all, sent in written attestations, of the same general import. Among these was the venerable Dr. Appleton, of Cambridge.

"Very few of these ministers," says Rev. Mr. Prince, "complained of errors or disorders in the congregations they belonged to. Several declared that there had been none from the beginning; but in the extraordinary revival of religion among their people, the work had been carried on with great seriousness and regularity." Mr. Prince further says, "that as far as they could learn, *the greatest errors and disorders were in those places where the ministers opposed the work, and thereby lost much of their respect and influence.*"†

The leading opponent of this great revival of religion was the celebrated Dr. Chauncy, long pastor of the first church in Boston. He was unfriendly to it from the first, and in 1743—after having travelled hundreds of miles, for the purpose of hearing stories, and collecting testimonies—he published his "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England," for the purpose of exposing and suppressing it. In this and some of his other publications, he treats Whitefield with inexcusable and even *shameful* severity. He suggests that

* He and his colleague, Mr. Cooper, wrote a preface to Mr. Smith's sermon on the character of Whitefield. He wrote an appendix to one of President Edwards's revival sermons. He united with others in commending a work of Rev. Mr. Dickinson, of New Jersey. See *Chris. Hist.* Vol. II. pp. 366, 386, 409.

† *Christian History*, Vol. I. pp. 155—200.

vanity may have been the cause of his incessant travels and labors ; and that, in collecting subscriptions and contributions, he may have “ a *fellow feeling* with some of the orphans in Georgia ! ! ”

President Quincy is mistaken, however, in supposing that even Chauncy was at this time an anti-Calvinist. In the work to which I have here referred, he indignantly repels the charge of Arminianism, and professes to “ approve of the Confession of Faith agreed on by the churches of New England, and by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.”*

REMARKS ON PRESIDENT EDWARDS.

The representations of President Quincy in regard to President Edwards are not quite accurate or fair. He speaks of his sermons as “ *extemporaneous* effusions ; ”—a statement which will be surprising to the friends of Edwards, it being well understood that he generally, if not always, preached from notes. II. p. 58.

Another alleged characteristic of his preaching will be thought equally strange, viz., that he “ took captive the *imagination*,” while he “ paralyzed the action of *human reason*, by denying its authority.” p. 55. That Edwards was not destitute of imagination is very true ; though with him, this seems to have been rather a neglected, than a cultivated power. But that a man who taxed so severely and incessantly his *understanding*—who, in all his performances, whether philosophical or theological treatises or sermons, was accustomed, beyond almost any one that ever lived, to exercise his *reason*, should have “ denied the authority of human reason,” or “ paralyzed its action,” is very strange.†

Moreover, we think it hardly fair to select from the works of Edwards his more exceptionable, perhaps we might say *fanciful* passages, and hold them up as specimens of the entire man.

* Seasonable Thoughts, etc., pp. 398, 417.

† The Christian Examiner characterizes the preaching of Edwards very differently, and much more accurately. “ Grant him his *premises*, and you are led on, step by step, to the conclusion. The mind struggles in vain, but is obliged to submit ;—and then comes the *terrible application*.” Vol. IV. p. 468.

Still more unfair is it, to select what seems to have been altogether peculiar to him, and with him was only matter of *conjecture*,—I refer to the passage in which he suggests the *probability* that this earth, in its state of conflagration, may be the place of future misery—and exhibit it as one of the doctrines of Calvinism. pp. 53, 57.

We scarcely see the propriety of bringing in the name of Jonathan Mayhew, in connection with the revival controversy; as he was not settled till the year 1747, and published nothing for two or three years afterwards. That he possessed a vigorous and highly cultivated understanding, a ready wit, and a fluent tongue, all which served to render him a most formidable controversialist, none, who are acquainted with his works, will be disposed to deny. But that these were associated with a proud, untractable, bitter spirit, will be equally obvious to every unprejudiced reader. We have long considered Jonathan Mayhew and Charles Chauncy as the great corruptors of the religion of Boston. To be sure, they did not operate alone; nor did they attempt to mould uncongenial minds; but on them, more than on any other two individuals, rests the responsibility of breaking down the ancient, Puritan landmarks, and of revolutionizing, for a time, the religion of the metropolis of New England.

President Quincy represents “the controversy with Whitefield as *the last* of a theological character, in which the governors of the college have directly engaged.” p. 52. We know not whether Dr. Ware and Prof. Norton, during their connection with college, were reckoned among its “governors.” They were as much so, it is to be presumed, as was Prof. Wigglesworth, who wrote in opposition to Whitefield. That they have been deeply engaged, at times, in theological controversy, their publications are a standing proof.

MORE RECENT EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

The length to which this article has been already extended, renders it necessary that we pass more briefly over the remaining topics in the history before us. The fact, too, that the narrative is now approaching the times in which we live, may be a reason for less prolixity.

President Holyoke died in 1769, at the advanced age of

eighty, and was succeeded by Rev. Samuel Locke, pastor of the church in Sherburne. He held the office but a few years, and these few were disturbed by political turmoils—precursors of the approaching revolutionary struggle. He resigned suddenly, in December, 1773; and in July of the next year, Rev. Samuel Langdon, of Portsmouth, N. H., was appointed his successor.

The halls of the college had been previously occupied by the provincial legislature, in order that it might be removed from the presence of the British troops, which were quartered in Boston; but in 1775, Cambridge became the head quarters of the *American army*, and the college buildings were turned into barracks for the soldiers. It was here, July 2, 1775, that Gen. Washington first took the command of the assembled forces of New England. In the autumn of this year, the college was temporarily removed to Concord; but in the summer of the next year, when the British troops had evacuated Boston, the students gladly returned to Cambridge.

The principal difficulty which the college had to encounter, during the remainder of the war, was with its treasurer, who was no less a personage than the Hon. John Hancock. His political engagements and long absences (being president of Congress) rendered it impossible that he should discharge the duties of treasurer; and for some unexplained reason, he refused either to resign his office, or to settle his accounts. The probability is, that he was pressed rather unduly on the subject, as *he* thought, at first; and to show his resentment, was willing that the college should be subjected to some inconvenience afterwards. His accounts were not finally adjusted, until after his death.

In the constitution of Massachusetts, which was adopted in 1780, the interests of the college were duly regarded, and its existence and rights were firmly established. In August of the same year, President Langdon unexpectedly resigned his office. That he was a Calvinist, in principle, is evident from his "*Summary of Christian Faith and Practice*," which was published in 1768. He seems not to have had the faculty of making himself respected by his students, and wisely determined to retire from a situation which was both burthensome to himself, and disagreeable to them.

The next president of Harvard College was the Rev. Joseph Willard, minister of Beverly. He was inaugurated in Decem-

ber, 1781, and continued in office till his death, in 1804. He was a man of great personal dignity, and of high literary attainments. He was thought by many to be an Arminian. He did not insist on some theological points so fully as most of his predecessors; still, if he used words and phrases in their customary acceptation, his principles were decidedly evangelical. The professors of divinity, during his presidency, were the younger Wigglesworth, and the late Dr. Tappan—both Trinitarian and Calvinistic. Among the other professors were Dr. Eliphalet Pearson, and Rev. Samuel Williams, afterwards the historian of Vermont. Until 1784, the senior and junior classes were required to recite, once a week, from Wollebius's *Compendium Theologiæ*, a text book of the old Calvinistic school. When this was laid aside, Doddridge's *Lectures* were substituted in its place.

CHANGE OF RELIGIOUS CHARACTER. UNITARIANISM.

President Webber, the successor of Willard, and Dr. Ware, the successor of Dr. Tappan in the professorship of divinity, came into office nearly at the same time; and from that time, the religious character of Harvard University underwent an almost total change. Almost immediately upon their appointment, Rev. Dr. Pearson, a Calvinist of the old school, who had officiated as president after the death of Willard, resigned his place; stating in his communication, that during a connection of twenty years, it had been his endeavor to exalt the literary, moral and religious state of the seminary; but as "events, during the last year, had so deeply affected his mind, beclouded the prospect, spread such a gloom over the university, and compelled him to take such a view of its internal state, and external relations, of its radical and constitutional maladies, as to exclude the hope of rendering any essential service to the interests of religion, by continuing his relation to it;" he therefore requested an acceptance of his resignation. p. 287.

During the presidency of Webber, the *religious* concerns of the college were chiefly under the direction of Dr. Ware; and the opportunity was improved to create and extend an influence in favor of "the new doctrine." Unitarian sentiments were strongly inculcated; Unitarian ministers and lawyers were raised up and sent forth; Unitarian professors and tutors were

appointed ; and a system of measures was put in operation, to advance the cause of Unitarianism, make it popular, and give it currency and favor. Still, however, the *name* was not avowed, and the existence of the thing, at times, was scarcely admitted.

President Webber died suddenly, July 17, 1810 ; and on the fourteenth of November of the same year, President Kirkland was inaugurated. He commenced his administration, by attending a *ball* on the same evening, "given by the students." Dr. Kirkland had, at this time, made no open profession of Unitarian sentiments ; and I have good authority for saying that he owed his elevation to the *concealment* which he had practised. In a letter from Rev. Francis Parkman to a friend in England, dated Feb. 20, 1812, we have the following candid and explicit avowal. "You say that Dr. Kirkland is a *professed Unitarian*, and mention him, as if his election to the presidency of Cambridge University were a decisive proof of the prevalence of your sentiments among us. Dr. Kirkland was formerly one of the ministers of Boston, and whatever his particular friends may think of his opinions, he *never preached these sentiments* ;" i. e. Unitarian. "Nay, I may venture to say, that had Dr. Kirkland been an *acknowledged defender of Unitarianism*, he would not have been elected to that place." "Had a decided Unitarian been elected, I really believe that the number of the students would have been diminished."*

To this statement of the grounds on which President Kirkland came into office, I need add nothing. His elevation was clearly an imposition on the public ; for as Dr. Parkman well observes : "Had Dr. Kirkland been," at the time, "an *acknowledged defender of Unitarianism*, he would not have been elected to that place."

Of the measures taken to promote Unitarianism in college, during the presidency of Dr. Kirkland, suffice it to say, that *all possible means were used*. Periodicals were established ; books in great numbers and variety were patronized and published ; large sums of money were, in one way or another, expended ; Unitarian officers were appointed ; and the work of innovation was carried on, till the whole concern was revolutionized. That I do not overstate here, will be evident from the following testimony of a distinguished alumnus, given some dozen years ago.

* London Monthly Repository, Vol. VII. p. 201.

"Since 1805," says he, "the period of the election of Dr. Ware to the professorship of divinity in Harvard College, few young men, even of the most devout and faithful parents, have been able to recover from the shock which their early religious education there sustained;—a melancholy interval, when surveyed in its results by the eye of Christian benevolence, during which Unitarianism has engulfed, in its dark flood, nearly all the sons of Harvard." "This," continues the writer, "I consider myself bound to testify before the world, that the influence there exerted against sound religious sentiments, and vital godliness, is like a *sweeping flood*. To the unfortified minds of youth, it is *resistless*. I am acquainted with no situation where, in my view (and I speak from sad experience), a principle of evangelical piety, and faith in the doctrines of the cross, would be less likely to be obtained, or, if possessed, would be placed in circumstances of greater peril."*

ALTERATIONS IN THE BOARD OF OVERSEERS.

For the purpose of promoting and perpetuating Unitarianism in Harvard College, repeated alterations have been attempted in the board of overseers. By the constitution of 1780, this board was organized and established, much as it had been under the provincial government. It was to consist, thenceforth, of "the governor, lieutenant governor, counsellors and senators of the commonwealth, with the president of the college for the time being, and the ministers of the congregational churches in the towns of Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester." In the year 1810, the legislature took it upon them to annul this provision of the constitution, and to organize the board of overseers in a very different manner. Thenceforward, it was to consist of "the governor, lieutenant governor, and council, the president of the senate, the speaker of the house of representatives, and the president of the college for the time being, with fifteen ministers of Congregational churches, and fifteen laymen, all inhabitants within the state, to be elected as provided in the act." This law is understood to have originated with certain leading members of the corporation, and was highly acceptable to the Unitarian friends of the college. As before constituted, the board *might* come under an evangelical influence. No one could tell, from year to year, who a *majority* of the board of overseers might be. But, as

* Philadelphia Church Register, May 31, 1828.

constituted by the legislative act, according to which most of the members were elective, and to be elected by *the board itself*, if a controlling Unitarian influence could be secured at the first, it might certainly be perpetuated.

It was soon found, however, that this act was not acceptable to a large portion of the people of the commonwealth. Some thought it a direct violation of the constitution. Others regarded it as a disfranchisement of the senate, and of the six towns. Accordingly, in 1812 the act was repealed, and it was ordered that the board should "be constituted in the same way and manner, and should be composed of the same persons, and no other, that it would have been had the same act never been passed."

It was while the board remained on its original *constitutional* foundation, according to this repealing act, that an event of some importance occurred, which President Quincy has wholly omitted, and which we would respectfully recommend to his notice, should his history go to another edition.

"In the year 1811, Rev. Dr. Griffin was installed pastor of the Park-street church in Boston; and on the repeal of the law of 1810, and the restoration of the ancient board of overseers, he became a member, as a matter of course. No notice, however, was taken of him, nor was he apprized of the time and place of any meeting of the board. At the commencement in 1813, by the advice of friends, he went and took his seat with the overseers. On taking his seat, he addressed himself to Governor Strong, who then presided, stating that he had not received notice of the meeting, but presumed he had a right to take a seat. Governor Strong replied unhesitatingly in the *affirmative*. The secretary rose, as if to apologize, and said that he had not received orders to invite Dr. Griffin. The Hon. Josiah Quincy then arose, and made a motion for a committee, to examine 'Dr. Griffin's *pretensions*' to a right to a seat in that body. Governor Strong turned to Dr. Griffin, and asked him if he had any objections to the appointment of such a committee. Dr. Griffin replied, that he had no particular objections, but saw not why such a committee should be appointed in his case, more than in the case of any other gentleman who took his seat there. Dr. Kirkland remarked, that it would do no hurt to appoint such a committee; and accordingly a committee was appointed, consisting of the Hon. Josiah Quincy, chairman, Rev. Dr. Porter of Roxbury, and Rev. Dr. Morse of Charlestown. The committee met at the house of Mr. Quincy, and heard Dr. Griffin's statement. The only shadow of a pretence to question his right was, that he had once been settled over a Presbyterian church; though he was originally settled over a Congregational church, and had, since his dismissal from the Presbyterian church, filled the office of professor in a Congregational theological seminary, and was now the pastor

of one of the Congregational churches in Boston. Besides; the constitution provides, that "the *ministers of the Congregational churches*" in the six towns, and not *Congregational ministers*, are entitled to a seat.

After hearing the communication of Dr. Griffin, Doctors Porter and Morse, being a *majority* of the committee, decided to report in his favor. But Mr. Quincy, when, as chairman of the committee, he presented their report, declared his own dissent from it. Upon this, the board of overseers appointed a day to hear Dr. Griffin in support of his claim, and gave him notice to attend. Dr. Griffin accordingly appeared before the board, during the session of the legislature in the winter, and, in defence of his right, adduced the college charter, and the state constitution; showed that Park-street church was a Congregational church; and that he was actually its pastor. The argument was triumphant. There was not a pin or splinter to hang a doubt upon. Long before he ended his argument, Mr. Quincy arose and walked the room, apparently uneasy, as if he had found himself upon the wrong side of the question. When Dr. Griffin had ended, having made his right completely evident, Mr. Quincy moved an adjournment, and the board of overseers, instead of ingenuously admitting what was proved to be the right of a brother member, without the shadow of an excuse, adjourned. And this was the last that was heard of the subject.*

Near the close of the winter session of 1814, and before the overseers came together again, the legislature passed an act, reviving, with some alterations, the act of 1810; and thus the board remains constituted, to the present day. By this act of 1814, all the existing clerical members, *except Dr. Griffin*, were taken into the new board. He alone was excluded.

It can hardly be supposed that President Quincy should have entirely forgotten the above transaction; or if it were forgotten, that he should not have been reminded of it by the records of the overseers. His probable motives for omitting to notice it, we leave to the judgment of our readers.

Decisive evidence was furnished, within a few years, that the law of 1814, like that of 1810, was not satisfactory to a great majority of the people of Massachusetts. In December, 1820, a convention of delegates was assembled, for the purpose of revising the constitution of the state. It was proposed by this convention to incorporate the provisions of the act of 1814 into the constitution, so as to put it out of the power of any future legislature to change them. But this proposition was rejected by the people, by a majority of almost three to one.

* See Cooke's Reply to the Christian Examiner, p. 33.

EXTRAVAGANT EXPENDITURES.

President Quincy goes into an account of the excess of expenditures at college, beyond the income, during the presidency of Dr. Kirkland; of the anxiety and alarm which were thereby occasioned; of the appointment of a committee (of which the Hon. Nathaniel Bowditch was chairman) to examine accounts; of the employing of an auditor (Benjamin R. Nichols, Esq.) to assist the committee; and of the rigid examination, extending in some instances over a period of seventeen years, to which "the accounts of every officer" were subjected. He admits that "some irregularities had occurred;" that "some errors were rectified;" and that there had been more or less of expenditure which was "questionable in point of authority;" but insists that all "had been evidently applied with an honest intent, to advance the interest and promote the progress of the institution." He states that, almost immediately upon this examination, "the Hon. John Davis took the opportunity to resign the office of treasurer;" that shortly after, President Kirkland found it necessary to resign; and that, as "there was an unliquidated account existing between him and the corporation," (or in other words, as he owed the corporation, and had nothing to pay,) it was "voted that two thousand dollars be allowed to the president, in full of such account." pp. 362—371.

All this is very coincident with, though far less particular than, the account which Dr. Bowditch used to give of the matter, during the latter part of his life, in conversation with his friends.* From him it appears that Dr. Kirkland was accustomed, whenever he wanted money, to draw orders on the college treasurer or steward, whether authorized so to do by the corporation, or not. These orders were generally, if not always, answered, until large sums had been expended, and very serious encroachment had been made on the college funds. The overseers, it seems, became first alarmed, and appointed a committee to examine the treasurer's accounts. Upon this, the treasurer resigned his office, and a committee of the corporation, (that re-

* Dr. Bowditch did something more than converse on the subject. He prepared a manuscript volume of about 150 pages, entitled "*Scraps of College History*," which he freely showed to his friends, and which, at one time, he intended to publish.

ferred to above, of which Dr. Bowditch was chairman,) was appointed, with instructions to examine his books and accounts during the whole term of his continuance in office, a period of seventeen years. This committee, finding the papers submitted to them in so much disorder that they despaired of being able, with their other engagements, to do any thing with them personally, secured the services of Mr. Nichols, as an assistant or auditor. He was occupied in the business the greater part of a year, and charged for his services 3000 dollars; which sum he said the treasurer ought to pay, and which it is believed he did pay.

In adjusting these accounts, according to Dr. Bowditch, (who is our principal authority for the facts here stated,) there was much difficulty and uncertainty. Numerous mistakes and errors were discovered, and the usual guides in such cases were, to a great extent, wanting. After allowing all President Kirkland's unauthorized orders, and his accounts current, and jumping at conclusions where they could be reached in no other way, a result was at length formed, and the president was found indebted to the college in the sum of about 2000 dollars. And this was the sum given up to him, "in consideration of his long and faithful services;"—a measure, by the way, in which Dr. Bowditch did not think it his duty to concur.

We have never yet seen a delineation of the character of Dr. Kirkland—neither in the fulsome panegyrics of his friends, nor the sweeping denunciations of his enemies—which seemed to us to do him justice. That he was highly gifted, in point of natural endowments, and that his knowledge of men and things—acquired more from observation and conversation than from books—was extraordinary, there can be no doubt. In his disposition, he was affable, free, generous, and unsuspecting. He had an exquisite vein of humor in his constitution, which, joined with refinement of manners, and a rich fund of anecdote, made him one of the most agreeable associates. At the same time, he was easy, indolent, somewhat given to appetite, careless to a fault in the use of money, and apparently very little under the influence of deep religious principle. In some of the reviews attributed to him, which were published in the *Monthly Anthology*, he showed himself capable even of scoffing at serious, experimental religion.* One of the eulogists of Dr. Kirkland no-

* See particularly a Review of the *Memoirs of Dr. Wheelock*, in the *Anthology* for May, 1811, p. 336. Also a Review

tices, among other excellent qualities, his ability "to *conceal* his religious impressions." Another speaks of his habit, while a settled minister, of "bringing into the pulpit a number of old sermons, and constructing from their pages a new sermon as he went along, turning the leaves backwards and forwards, and connecting them together by the thread of his extemporaneous discourse."

We do not believe that he ever intended to squander a farthing of the college funds; or that he expended a cent for his own personal benefit, which it was not his purpose to replace. But of all men he was least qualified to be trusted extensively, almost irresponsibly (as he was) with the disposition of college property. In the language of his friend, the late Hon. John Lowell: "He had nothing of that worldly wisdom, so necessary to pecuniary thrift. His own money had been poured out like water, when any claims had been made on his benevolence or sympathy." By his profuse expenditure of the moneys of college, upon buildings and ornaments, officers and students, he made himself exceedingly popular, at the same time that he brought the institution into circumstances of extreme embarrassment. And had not his course been arrested by the vigilance, firmness, and perseverance of a Bowditch, it is not unlikely that utter bankruptcy must, in a little time, have ensued.

THE CLAIMS OF THE PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS ON HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Harvard University has not unfrequently been spoken of as an institution of *the state*; as *belonging* to the state—the *whole* state; and as bound to dispense its favors and privileges, with an impartial hand, to all. Still, it is probable that but few of the inhabitants of Massachusetts are aware to what an extent, and with what an emphasis, this is true. The public are under great obligations to President Quincy for furnishing the *materials* on which to form a judgment respecting this matter.

of the Autobiography of Dr. Hopkins, in Vol. III. p. 153. Speaking of Dr. Hopkins' account of his own religious experience, the writer says: "A reader unaccustomed to the kind of exercises here detailed might imagine that he had been perusing the journal of a valetudinarian, or *listening to the reveries of a love-sick maid!*"

Harvard University, in the first place, was *founded* by the state. President Quincy denies this, regarding Mr. Harvard, and not the state, as its proper founder. Vol. I. p. 39. But it should be recollected, that the institution was *founded*, by a legislative act, and four hundred pounds were raised to make provision for it, nearly two years before Mr. Harvard's death. He bequeathed his property, not for the purpose of *founding* a college, but of helping to endow one, which had already a legal, corporate existence.*

But, secondly, Harvard University belongs to the state, because of the long continued and munificent *patronage* which the state has bestowed upon it. For one hundred and fifty years after the commencement of the college, its president was *constantly* supported by the state. By vote of the legislature, his salary was raised as regularly, from year to year, as was that of the governor, or any other of the state officers. And for many of these years, the salaries of the professors, or a considerable part of them, were raised in the same way. For the support of college affairs, between the years 1636 and 1686, there was actually paid out of the treasury of the state, not less than thirty-eight thousand pounds.

In addition to this, large sums were expended from time to time, and at various times, for the erection of buildings. The original grant of four hundred pounds was intended, as the phraseology of the vote implies, to be expended in the erection of a college building. In 1720, Massachusetts Hall was completed, at an expense to the state of three thousand five hundred pounds. In 1725, one thousand pounds were granted, to aid in providing a house for President Wadsworth. In 1763, Hollis Hall was erected, and cost the state four thousand eight hundred pounds. The very next year, Harvard Hall, having been destroyed by fire, was rebuilt by the state, at an expense of twenty-three thousand dollars. At the same time, one hundred pounds were granted, for the purpose of supplying the college with a water engine. In 1804, Stoughton Hall was erected, and in 1813, Holworthy Hall, both of which cost the state 47,400 dol-

* "The *first gift* of the revenues," says Blackstone, "is the *foundation* ; and he who gives them is in law the *founder*." 1 Com. 480. 10 Co. 33. The *state* then, or the *colony*, to which the state has succeeded, was properly the *founder* of Harvard College.

lars. It is true, this sum was raised by lotteries; but the lotteries were authorized by the state, and the money came as really from the people, as though it had been raised by direct taxation. In 1815, University Hall was finished, at the enormous expense to the state of 65,000 dollars.—It would appear from this estimate, that the state has expended in the erection of buildings, for the benefit of Harvard College, not less than 168,000 dollars.

One of the earliest grants of the state to the college, was the income of the ferry across Charles river; and this has been continued, in one form or another, almost to the present time. From this source, the college has received from the state not far from 112,000 dollars. In addition to all this, there was the bank tax of 1814, amounting to 100,000 dollars. Allowing 65,000 dollars of this sum to have been expended on University Hall, there would remain 35,000 for the benefit of the college, in other ways. There were also several smaller grants, noticed by President Quincy, which have not been taken into the above account; besides the several grants of land, which were made from time to time through almost the entire period of the college history, on which no definite estimate is made.

Taking the whole together, it will appear that the state of Massachusetts has actually given to Harvard College, at different times and in various ways, not less than half a million of dollars. In this view, surely, the state may well claim to have some *special interest* in this venerable institution. It may reasonably claim, that the privileges of the institution should be imparted, and its favors bestowed, with a view to the benefit of the whole people.

But there are other reasons, besides those which have been mentioned, why Harvard University should be regarded as the property of the state. Its charter is incorporated into the very constitution of the state, one whole chapter of which is devoted to this subject. It has been the object of continued legislative care, and of frequent legislative enactment, during the whole period of its history. And not only so, the governor and most of the high officers of state are, *ex-officiis*, members of the board of overseers, and have a general superintendence of its concerns.

When, however, we speak of Harvard University as an institution of the state, and of the *rights* of the state in regard to it, we refer, not so much to rights which may be legally enforced, as to those which every one can *feel* for himself, and which those

who understand the subject *must* feel. If this institution was founded and originally endowed by the state; if it has received the patronage of the state to the amount of at least half a million of dollars; if it is connected with the state, in the manner and ways already pointed out; then, obviously, it is an institution of *common state interest*; and for any religious denomination to attempt to control it, and convert it to sectarian purposes, is unjust and wrong. Whether the excluded sects may, or may not, be able to obtain redress by force of law, the injury is one which they *can feel*, and respecting which they may take all proper measures to make their thoughts and feelings known.

As the first settlers of Massachusetts were orthodox Congregationalists, it was natural and it was right, that the college which they instituted for their common benefit should *then* receive a theological character conformed to their own. And as the college was originally undertaken by this denomination of Christians, it was natural that it should continue, for a course of years, under the same general influence. And so long as the great body of our citizens were essentially of one mind on religious subjects, there was no impropriety or injustice in this course of things. But for these many years past, the religious state of Massachusetts, and of New England generally, has been different. Owing to the increase of our population, and to the unshackled freedom of inquiry and opinion which is enjoyed, there has come to be, as might have been expected, a variety of religious sects. No small portion of the citizens are not now Congregationalists, even in name; and among those who bear this name, there is a marked and radical division, in point of religious sentiment and practice. A portion of those styling themselves Congregationalists—in the exercise of that freedom for which they are responsible only to God—have renounced the leading principles of the religion of their fathers, and adopted an opposite system of faith; so that the two classes of Congregationalists are now more widely separated from each other, than they are from several of the other sects. Under these circumstances, it would no longer be right for the university of the state, in which all the people are alike interested, to remain in exclusive possession of the orthodox Congregationalists—the denomination which originated it, and controlled it, for a long course of years. Much less can it be right, that it should be in exclusive possession, or nearly so, of the Unitarians; a sect of recent origin, comprising but a fraction of the

whole population, and retaining little or nothing of the ancient Congregational system, except the name.

CONNECTION OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY WITH THE UNITARIAN THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL.

Several things have contributed to make the impression, that Harvard University—the venerable college of Massachusetts, in which all her citizens have an *equal* and *common* interest—has been, for many years, almost entirely under the influence and control of *the Unitarians*. Among the things here referred to are (as before stated) the known Unitarian character of the late president and Hollis professor of divinity; the character of their ministrations in the chapel and elsewhere, which often were distinctively Unitarian; the decidedly Unitarian character of the other principal professors and teachers; the manner in which honorary degrees have been, in most instances, distributed, and in which vacancies in the corporation, the board of overseers, and in the several departments of instruction, have been filled; the Unitarian character of most of the students who resort to the university, and of a still greater proportion of those who leave it; and the *concessions* and *boasts* of Unitarians themselves. “This ancient university,” it has been said, “is the pure, uncorrupted fountain-head of *Unitarianism*.” “The college,” says the Christian Examiner, “without this new department,” (the theological,) “WAS UNITARIAN.” Again: “We suspect the true ground of hostility is not to the place, but *the doctrine*; not that young men should not learn theology at Harvard College, but that *such theology as they do learn there* should be learned nowhere.”* Now what is this but an acknowledgment, the more satisfactory for being undesigned, that Harvard College is in the hands, and under the control and influence of the Unitarian denomination?

There is another fact which, more than any that has been mentioned, shows the sectarian character of Harvard University;—we mean its connection with *the Unitarian Theological School*. The history of this school is, in brief, as follows. In 1815, the late president of Harvard College, “in behalf of the corporation, and with the assent of the board of overseers, addressed a circular letter to a large number of the sons and friends of the college, asking their assistance in providing additional

* Vol. X. pp. 159, 142.

means for theological education in Harvard University." In consequence of this letter, subscriptions to a considerable amount were obtained. The subscribers held a meeting, July, 1816, and formed themselves into a "Society for the promotion of Theological Education in Harvard University." The trustees of this society, in conjunction with the corporation of the college, soon after laid the foundation of a theological school, and undertook the charge of it, by a joint superintendence. In 1819, a theological faculty was instituted, and a system of rules adopted for its regulation. Uneasiness, however, existed in the minds of many Unitarians, on account of the connection of the school with the university. One respectable committee, to whom the subject was referred, recommended that the school and the university be entirely separated; but their report was rejected. Another committee, instead of proposing to withdraw the school *entirely* from the university, recommended that the superintendence of it be committed to the directors of the society, subject only to the assent of the corporation. This report was accepted, and the society, by its directors, took charge of the school. It was under the supervision of these directors, that the building for the accommodation of theological students was erected. In the year 1830, the directors and the society by which they were constituted, resigned all their power and authority over the school into the hands of the corporation of the college; so that the society had no longer any connection with the school or its funds. The corporation, having accepted the trust committed to them, and taken the school into their own hands, prepared statutes and instituted a faculty for the regulation of it, all which was duly approved by the overseers. According to these statutes, the president of the university is to be the head of the theological school. The Hollis professor of divinity is to be the first professor in the school. The theological professors are to "perform divine service in the chapel of the university, on the Lord's day, throughout the year." They are also to offer the "daily prayers in the chapel of the university." The appointment of the theological professors, and the concerns of the school generally, are placed entirely under the control of the corporation, so that the school is now *an integral part* of the university. The connection between it and the university is as intimate and complete as it can well be made.

Here, then, we have a finishing, conclusive argument in proof of the sectarian character of the university. Its whole theolog-

ical department is entirely and avowedly Unitarian. We say *avowedly* Unitarian ;—for what is the language of the Christian Examiner in regard to it ? “ We do not deny that the professors of the school are *Unitarians* ; and we rejoice in the fact. We do not deny that the probability is, that the students will come from the school *impressed with the truth of the Unitarian faith. God forbid that it should be otherwise.*” Vol. X. p. 144. It is here distinctly acknowledged, that the theological professors connected with the university—by whom alone religious instruction is to be communicated, and daily religious services are to be performed—are *all Unitarians*, and are *intended and expected to be Unitarians*. Whether a state of things such as this does not give a character to the university, and render it thoroughly *Unitarian* and *sectarian*, the public must judge.

In palliation of the evil here complained of, it has sometimes been said, that the funds of *the university* have not been applied, and will not be, for the support of the theological school. But this is not true. In the various letters and papers relating to the commencement of the theological school, the purpose was distinctly avowed of “ applying the resources of *the college* to this object, so far as other indispensable claims admit.” It was also urged as an argument against separating the theological school from the university, that in that case, it must be deprived of the instructions of the *college officers*, and of the benefits of the *college library*, and the *college funds*. Indeed, almost all the instruction that has ever been given in this theological school has been given by *university officers*—men who were supported, either wholly or in part, from the funds of the college.

Citizens of Massachusetts, are you acquainted with these things ? And if so, what do you think of them ? Is it right, that the venerable university, so munificently endowed by your liberality and that of your fathers, and once the glory of our land, should thus be monopolized by a particular class of religionists, and converted by them to their own party purposes ? Is it right that this noble institution should be surrendered “ to the exclusive use and benefit of *Unitarians*—a little sect which, thirty years ago, had not courage or honesty enough to admit that they had a being ?” Is it right that the funds of this *state* institution, and the services of its officers, should be employed to sustain and build up a *Unitarian* theological school ? Other sects endow and support their own theological schools ; why

should not Unitarians do the same? Other sects are at the expense of educating their own ministers; why should Unitarian ministers be educated, either wholly or in part, at the public expense?

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

We have now done, at least for the present, with the volumes of President Quincy. In traversing the wide field presented before us, a great variety of topics, and some of them of the deepest interest, have necessarily come under review. God is witness that we have treated them, not in bitterness or in anger, but with the freedom of conscious truth, and under solemn convictions of duty. Towards the distinguished author of these volumes, we entertain no feelings but those of kindness and respect. He doubtless has many properties befitting the exalted station which he is called to occupy; but to be the *historian* of Harvard College, through the whole period of its existence, we cannot think that he possesses *all* the requisite qualifications. He may be strictly honest in purpose; and certainly he has access to the best sources of information; but he has his prejudices and predilections, like other men. He is not, and can hardly be expected to be, *impartial*. It would be strange, too, if one who had pursued the same general course of life with President Quincy (although he might be the acknowledged head of a Unitarian theological school) were prepared to enter profoundly or satisfactorily into the various *theological questions* and *controversies* which had agitated New England, and in which the college had more or less participated, for almost two hundred years. We must further say, that we think President Quincy disqualified, in *spirit*, to write the history of some of the early presidents of Harvard College. In views and feelings, theologically and spiritually, he is evidently a different man from them. Into what they doubtless considered as their best and holiest feelings, he seems to have no power to enter. With their high spiritual hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, ends and aims, he has no sympathy. Consequently, he cannot describe their religious exercises and character, so as to do them justice. When such men as Southey undertake to write biographies of Wesley and Bunyan, or Quincy to discuss the characters of Increase and Cotton Mather, the religious public anticipate a failure; nor are they often disappointed.

The treatment of the Mathers, in the work before us, constituted our principal inducement for bringing these volumes under review. We deem it a sacred duty of the living to protect, so far as may be, the ashes of the dead. If it would be unpardonable to look coldly on, and see the sepulchres in which were entombed the remains of the once learned and pious, useful and honorable, rudely torn open, and their dust trodden under foot; much more inexcusable would it be, to see the *characters* of the holy dead aspersed, and their motives impeached, and their names dishonored.

Those who are now active and useful among the living will soon have gone to the congregation of the dead. Other generations will rise up in their places, and will look back upon them, as they now look back upon the generations of their fathers. And with what measure we mete, we may expect it will be measured to us again. If we feel no interest in protecting (so far as may be in consistency with truth and justice) the characters of those who have gone before us, who may we expect will feel an interest in protecting ours?

Of the mechanical execution of the work before us we have already spoken. It is beautiful and perfect, beyond any thing we have seen from the American press. The style of writing also, though often too sweeping and declamatory for history, is in general creditable to the author. Occasionally, there may be a careless or an imperfect sentence,* but for the most part it is perspicuous and natural; in some places eloquent. As a collection of *materials*—of *authentic documents*,—these volumes possess, also, a high importance. Indeed, this I conceive to be their principal *historical* value. The *materials* for a history of Harvard College, at least for the first hundred and fifty years of its existence, are in good measure furnished. *The history itself remains to be written.* Happy he, who shall undertake it competently, and accomplish it faithfully!

* Like the following: "He then with great clearness exposes and *reprobates* the nature of the examination, the form of the indictment, the irrelevancy of the admitted evidence, the guilt of the accusers, *the innocency of those already condemned and executed*, and the madness and iniquity of the course pursued." *Reprobates innocency!!* Vol. I. p. 413.

ARTICLE II.

THE SECT OF YEZIDIES OF MESOPOTAMIA.

By Henry A. Homes, Missionary in Constantinople.

THE attention of the public has been repeatedly directed to the Yezidies, often called Devil-Worshippers, of Mesopotamia. The American Board of Foreign Missions and the Episcopal Board, having each commenced stations in that region, whatever can elucidate the character of the inhabitants of the country is interesting.

In the year 1839, while residing two months at Mardin, in Northern Mesopotamia, and making the Yezidies an especial object of inquiry, I collected many facts respecting them. These facts, after consulting all the printed sources of information within my reach, I have embodied so as to present, at one view, all that is as yet known about this singular people. I have also subjoined some illustrations from history, with opinions as to the origin of the Yezidies, as helps to those who may hereafter be called to make farther researches.

Geographical situation of the Yezidies. It has usually been said, although incorrectly, that they are found chiefly in the Sinjar mountain; which rises out of the vast plain, known not only by geographers, but by the Christians of the country, as the plain of Shinar. It is an insulated ridge, between Mardin and Mosul, running from N. E. to S. W. It is about four days, or one hundred miles, in circumference; being nearly fifty miles long by twenty wide. In some parts it is between two and three thousand feet high. It lies south of the Hermas or Jugjé river, and north of the canal Thasthar. Nowhere else is the palm tree found in Mesopotamia.* It yields abundantly fruits like the fig, apricot and grape. The sides, ravines and skirts of the mountain are thickly covered with villages, many or the most of them in ruins. In most of these villages, are to be found walls resembling, in form and situation, Christian churches,

* Haji Kalfa's Geog. the Jihan Numa.

and upon some of them are inscriptions in the Syrian character. The number of Yezidies inhabiting this mountain, as given by Kinneir, is the extravagant one of 2,000,000 souls.* yet, while one of my informants, who had been among them, rated them at only 10,000 souls, another, perhaps equally well informed, supposed they were only 5,000 souls. It is reasonable to suppose that a few years since they were much more numerous; but in the wars made upon them by the regular troops of the late Sultan Mahmud, they were mercilessly destroyed as heathen, by the sword, and thousands were carried off to be sold as slaves. The war was carried on by the people sheltered in some of the immense natural and artificial caves of the mountain. When they finally surrendered, one man pretended to have counted over five hundred men coming out of a single cave.†

The principal town of Sinjar lies to the north of the mountain, and is usually known simply as "the city." It is the place called in Roman history Zingara, and was a fortress, passing repeatedly from the hands of the Persians to their Roman or Greek enemies.‡ It contains, I was told, large and rich ruins, like those of Dara, near Mardin. It is said that all the Yezidies of the Sinjar were originally of five tribes; some of the names of which are, Koreish, Kaidiyé, Dûrman, and Havakiyé. The names of certain villages are Jenûviyé, Sem-moka, Kerré, Dakhyan, Yara, Kheiran. Rich was told, at Mosul, that the Yezidies are distinguished from others by the name of Jenu, or Jelu.§

The second region where the Yezidies are now found, in probably the greatest numbers, is east of the Tigris. Taking Mosul as a centre, and drawing an arc of a circle, beginning at forty miles southeast of that city, around to forty miles west of north, we shall have included the greater portion of the villages found in that quarter. Their villages are found in the plains contiguous to the mountains, or in the mountains themselves, that run from the convent of El Kosh, southeast to the river Zab. The villages in that quarter may be estimated at over fifty. Many of them are in the limestone cliffs of the

* Kinneir's *Asia Minor and Kurdistan*, 1814. London.

† Southgate's *Tour in Armenia, etc.*, Vol. II. N. York, 1840.

‡ Gibbon's *Dec. and Fall*.

§ Rich's *Tour in Kurdistan*, Vol. II. Lond. 1836.

mountains, and some of their homes were formerly tombs or charnel-houses. The common name of this people in this quarter is Dasini, which was the ancient name of this district; ecclesiastical history informing us of an ancient bishopric of that name.* In Kurdistan proper there is a ruined village to this day called Dasin, and the name is applied to the Yezidies of no other region. Another name of a district is Berghé, or Berghiyé—being the northern part of this territory, in which alone are said to be fifty villages. The following are the names of some of the towns: Kafti, Eski Kelleh, Nemir, Baasheka, Baazani, Cofan, Haji Jo, Mizik, Moghara, Sherab Airan, Sirej Khan, Baadli and Sherabi. At El Kosh, Mr. Rich remarks, he was surrounded with Yezidi villages in abundance.†

From Jezira, on the Tigris, four days north of Mosul, we have eastward another cluster of Yezidies, surrounded almost entirely by Mohammedan Kurds. The names of some of their tribes are: Benwid, Kaûn, Pûresh, Hiûrel.‡

Between Sert (the ancient Tigranocerta) and Diarbekir, on the north of its branch of the Tigris, we have Yezidi villages again, scattered along in clusters, as at Bismil, Beshir, and Redwan, or Yezidi Khan. It is here chiefly a champaign country, with rolling hills. The names of some of their tribes are Khunduki, Behemrer, Serhani, Bejborni, Torkashiki.§ These Yezidies, with those in the vicinity of Jezira, (the ancient Bezabdé,) are known by the general name of the Muses-san, or Dinnedi tribes.

Stretching westward from the Tigris at Jezira, across to Bir on the Euphrates, south of the mountain chains, we shall find Yezidies scattered through that whole distance. In the Tor mountains, surrounded with Syrians, speaking the Syrian language, are many villages. Mr. Southgate speaks of nine in the district of Haznâûr; in the plain before Mardin are six or seven; near Orfa, in a district whose chief town is called Nebbi Eyyoub,—the burial-place of the prophet Job,—it is pretended there are in all at least 5,000 Yezidies. Many of them live in tents in summer, and retire to huts in the mountains in winter.

Far remote from any of these tribes, we find three villages at the foot of Mt. Ararat, containing together three hundred

* Dr. Grant. *Miss. Herald*, March, 1841.

† Rich's *Tour in Kurdistan*.

‡ Jihan Numa.

§ Ibid.

families. The name of one of these villages is Kara Bûlak.* We have never learned that there are any more in that vicinity.

Some few villages are found west of the Euphrates on entering Syria. We see, however, that nearly all this people are found within what is popularly regarded as Mesopotamia, and within two days' journey of Mosul.

Population. After having made repeated estimates of the whole population of the Yezidies, I have ventured to put it at rising of fifty thousand souls. I should not be surprised, if farther investigations should carry this number somewhat higher. A universal geography in Armenian gives the whole population of this people at 1,000,000, counting those of the Sinjar as 500,000 souls; but this is too large an estimate.

Language. The language of the Yezidies, in their villages and families, is universally, and, I believe, solely the Kurdish. Though with other nations they speak Arabic or Turkish, yet I know of none with whom these languages are vernacular. Those that live in the Tor mountain, surrounded by Jacobites talking Syriac, still use the Kurdish. In the main they may be regarded as speaking the same dialect of the Kurdish; yet, being occasionally contiguous to Kurds speaking one of the three other dialects, their own may become much modified. This dialect is that of Amadiéh, in Kurdistan proper, of which Father Gazzoni published a grammar, in 1787, at Rome. These Kurdish dialects bear an intimate relation to the Zend, or Pehlêvi, the ancient language of Assyria and Media, which has always, in a large number of its words, though not in forms, borne a relation to the Chaldee. Gazzoni, Rich, Wolff, Dr. Grant and others, testify that their language is Kurdish; only Wolff pretends they have, besides, a secret language. If they have any secret language, it can only be certain words to express religious ideas. At any rate, it cannot be the Chaldee or Syriac, which are spoken by thousands of families around them, for it would no longer be a secret language. Mr. W., obtaining all his information from Jews, would give a Shemitish form to all the words he might cite.

Character and Manners. In general they must be regarded as even inferior in civilization to the proper Kurds, by whom they are surrounded. For centuries past, according to the tes-

* Smith and Dwight's *Researches in Armenia*, Vol. II. p. 270.

timony of all travellers, they have manifested to all who were not of their sect an inimical spirit. Whether in the Sinjar, east of the Tigris, or near Orfa, they have been in the habit of plundering all caravans, and would, like such people generally, make exploits of this kind their boast and glory. They are said also to have manifested a hardened, cruel spirit, in leaving their victims stark naked in a burning plain, or in recklessly murdering them. These traits, however, do not prevent the same individual at his own home from being hospitable, good-natured and affectionate. They are brave, if this animal quality is to be praised, for they reck little of eternity. They would rush—accompanied perhaps by their women—from their fastnesses, armed with sabre and pistols and a ten-foot lance, firing behind them, as they fled at speed from the enemy, like the ancient Parthians, whose country they inhabit.

Their social customs are, to a great extent, the same as those of other Kurds. Like them they are attached to robes of white cotton, with white turbans, crossed by a black band. Like them, their long reddish-black locks, from behind their heads, are curled long and fall down before on their shoulders. Their women also wear the same dress as the Kurdish women, with a high frame-work on their heads, covered with white cotton and the black band. In fact there is nothing in dress to distinguish them from the Mohammedan Kurds. Their women go unveiled, and are regardless of other exposures, yet faithful to their husbands. Polygamy is not lawful among them. Living as they do, in excluded communities, having no books or knowledge of literature, cut off from intercourse with the more civilized people around them, we must expect to find among them the same traits that distinguish any other degraded people.

Race. The facts we have already mentioned of the coincidence of their language, moral qualities, dress and manners, with those of the Kurds, would suggest that we must regard them as being originally of the same race with them. All the traits we have mentioned, they have in common with the people inhabiting independent Kurdistan, and the Carduchian mountains of Xenophon. And all the facts we shall enumerate will indicate that they originally spread out from that centre east of the Tigris. Those Kurds that now overrun all that country south of Erzroom, as far as Diarbekir, are all said to have come, within one hundred and fifty years, from this same region; and although they are orthodox Kurds, having no sym-

pathy with Yezidies, yet the name which some give to them is also Dasini, though some say Dasemi. The physiognomy of both Kurds and Yezidies is similar, and if it corresponds with many of the Christians of those same regions, it is no more than was to have been expected, if they are both either aborigines of the country, or formerly intermixed. However, the difference in dress, which Mohammedan bigotry enforces upon the Christians, gives with its dark colors a semblance of greater difference than really exists. Dr. Grant suggests that they may be of the same race with the Nestorians, whom he regards as of Hebrew descent; and this partly on the ground that the Nestorians affirm that the Yezidies were formerly Nestorians. The Jacobite Syrians also claim that the Yezidies formerly belonged to them; and, as we see, have some historical affinities by which they establish it. They are both probably correct; for as the Nestorian and Jacobite churches included people of various nations, so also some of the Yezidies belonged to both of these churches.

If, with many ethnographers, we regard the Kurdish as of the Persian family of languages,* and that it was one of the languages of Assyria and Chaldea when the Jews were transported thither, then we might perhaps apply to them the name Chaldean even as a race, as we now apply it to the Nestorians, who have retained the name as a distinction of religion. An additional testimony of their being Kurds is found in the following, as one from many, in Hagi Kalfa's geography. He says: "The Kurds are Sonnies, except the tribes of Sini, and Dasini, and Khalvi, who are Yezidies," implying that the Yezidies are of the Kurdish tribes.

Civil Organization. Little exists to distinguish them in their relations as communities from the rest of the Kurds. They are divided into many tribes. They have some tribes, as the Koreish of the Sinjar, and the Sheikkhauli near El Kosh, who by birth are regarded as being superior to all the rest; but neither of the heads of these tribes can be regarded as being either pope or king of the whole body of the Yezidies. Whether the Koreish are of the same tribe as that from which the prophet descended, I know not; but south of Erzroom is a tribe of orthodox Kurds, who also are called Koreish. The relative importance of the various tribes changes from year to year;

* Balbi Abreg. Geog. Paris, 1834.

and sometimes the interests of two or several tribes are merged in the growing greatness of some one chief and his followers. The Yezidies make war on each other as much as on Kurds; and the law of retaliation, existing in full vigor, entails perpetual feuds. The Koreish intermarry with no other tribe, and the Sheikhs of many of the villages are alone chosen from among them. Mr. Rich says Emir Sheikh Khan is pope of all the Yezidies east of the Tigris. Being descended, according to some, from the family of the Ommiades, and living near their most important place of pilgrimage, he is doubtless treated by them with great respect. Their political dependence is of course now entirely upon the Turks, and through the energy of the almost independent pashas of Bagdad and Mosul, all their rebellious or marauding spirit is effectually quelled; and they submit to all the reformed institutions of the day in spite of themselves.

RELIGION. This main and most essential feature of our observations must still remain, in many important points, unexplained. After a careful comparison of the contradictory statements of various travellers, and of the reports of the people with whom I conversed, the following facts alleged, seem worthy of credence.

They believe in the existence of an eternal *supreme being*, creator of all things; whom, however, they do not venture to worship, but profess to reverence him. Him they regard as the good God.

With respect to *Satan*, and their belief on this point has been regarded as the most peculiar, they believe him a created, but for the present, independent evil principle. They do not worship him, but they reverence him; thinking that he has all but infinite power on earth. The reverence and honor they show him are not from love, but to deprecate his wrath. They will not mention him by any of the common names by which he is known in the languages of the country, lest the evil one should regard it as a mark of disrespect. Nor will they make use of any of the words by which one may express the effects of his wrath: as e. g. "curse," lest he should think that they regarded his dispensations as evils, and were dissatisfied with them. Consequently, they will not pronounce the Arabic word "shat" for the Tigris, because its sound is so similar to Shātan or Satan. Nor will they let any one pronounce in their own country, with impunity, the word "nal," a horse-shoe, which also in sound means a curse, lest the evil one should hear it, and regard it as a

malediction against himself. Nor will they drink out of a jug, which bubbles as the water flows from it, for it sounds, they say, like the whisperings of Satan. When they designate him by any name, it is as "the great chief," the "Lord of the evening," or some similar title. The time is coming when he is to be reconciled with the Deity.

It is with a knowledge of these feelings of theirs, that the people of the country rudely torment them, by such tricks as getting into their hands the articles they may have brought to market for sale, and then they begin to curse Satan. Upon which the poor Yezidi either leaves his property unsold, or sells it cheap, that he may not be obliged to hear similar wickedness. For not tortures even would induce them to express, in any manner, a detestation of the Lord of darkness.

It is a story which I have often heard repeated, that the Yezidies of Sinjar assemble at certain times, in front of a certain cavern in their mountain, which some describe as bottomless, where they devote much of their wealth and ornaments to the service of the devil, as being rightfully his, and to which they can have no claim. Lieut. Hende says, "that this is accompanied by the most horrible ceremonies, dancing to the wild music of their horns and cymbals, with the most uncouth and frantic expressions of religious inspiration."*

In refutation of the notion so often repeated, that they *worship* the devil, I must say that the most candid and intelligent of the people of the east, with whom I have conversed, have generally said that these poor people ought not to be regarded as devil-worshippers. The bigotry of the Mohammedan doctors, operating upon the willing prejudices of the people, has led them to decry them as devil-worshippers, just as they charge on the Persians, that they worship the Caliph Ali as God. The following portion of a conversation that J. Wolff records between himself and a Yezidi bears strong marks of truth, and is a good picture of their state of mind. "W. Do you worship the devil? Y. We worship nothing: we never mention him whom you have just named, and we love him whom you have named. W. Do you believe the devil is good? Y. No. W. Why love him? Y. Thus it is. W. Do you believe in the existence of God? Y. We believe. W. Why not pray to him? Y. Thus it is. W. God gives you life and raiment, etc., why not thank

* Voyage up the Persian Gulf, London, 1817.

him? Y. Thus it is. W. Do you know how to read? Y. No.”*

Notions derived from Christianity. Whatever knowledge they may have received, of the doctrines of Christ, now exists chiefly in some superstitious ceremonies and corrupted traditions of doctrine. They believe in Christ as the Son of God, and, in some sense at least, as a Saviour.† Mr. Wolff reports the following reply of a Yezidi east of the Tigris. “W. What do you think of Christ? Y.—looking around to see that no Turk was present,—He was God; we call him Jesus, the enlightened: he was the word. Kyafa (Caiaphas) and Pilapus (Pilate) his faithful disciples drew the nails from his feet that he never died.” This accords with what is commonly reported of their belief as to his death. As proof that they were formerly instructed in the doctrines of the gospel, we see that they speak of wine as the blood of Christ; and, whenever they drink it on ordinary occasions, they hold the cup with both hands, as the Christians do when partaking of the communion. And if by chance a few drops fall on the ground, they carefully cover them with earth, that they may not be trodden under foot of men. They also make the sign of the cross, by crossing the middle fingers or thumbs of each hand. They sometimes even call themselves by the name that Mussulmans call Christians, i. e. Isaoui, or followers of Jesus.

Baptism is always used as an initiatory rite for all children. There is particularly a spring of water near a monastery where the Yezidies dip their children solemnly in the water three times, although they do not accompany the ceremony with any prayers.

Clergy. They deny that they have any priests, but still they have a large body of men, more or less devoted to the services of their religion. A distinction, very commonly made, of the Yezidies into black and white, is founded on the fact that this large body dress chiefly in black, in robes and appendages much resembling those of Christian priests. They are married, and engage in secular labors like the rest. They are often called “*faqirs*,” and “*fugara*,” or mendicants; and some explain them as being an order of dervishes or monks. They are divided into three orders, *pirs*, *sheikhs* and *faqirs*. The *pir* indi-

* Sketch of Life and Journal, Norwich, England, 1827.

† Dr. Grant, Miss. Her. 1841.

cates the head of a body, the sheikhs are the intermediate order, and the faquirs, which are by far the most numerous order, as the name indicates, are servants or inferiors. This division may correspond with that of bishops, priests and deacons, or with the orders in a tekké or monastery. They speak of their clergy as their "babawat" or fathers, after the custom of the Christians. They have a power independent of the civil power, or of that of their chiefs, and can excommunicate by peculiar ceremonies, and even condemn to death. They are called by the Mussulmans by the same name they give to Christian priests, —*kara bash*, i. e. black heads.

There is a class who hold a station midway between the blacks and whites, the clergy and people, who are called Kowwals, and correspond to the ancient chanters, or preachers in the church. Kowwal comes from the Arabic *Kal*, to speak. They are said to be numerous at Baazani. They are noticeable from the fact that they alone use stringed or wind instruments. On some occasions they improvise narrations and praises in prose, and poetry in rhyme, on subjects chiefly of a religious nature, accompanying their voices, in their not disagreeable chanting tones, with these instruments. They have degraded their office so that they chant, sometimes for the mere amusement of strangers, national songs of love and glory.*

Respect to Christian Priests and Churches. It illustrates the character and origin of their own priesthood, that they so greatly honor the priests of the various sects of Christians. They kiss the hands of one whom they meet, kissing both of his palms, as do the Christians; and one could adopt no safer or more inviting mode of travelling among them, than in the character of a Christian priest. That this is not hypocrisy is clear from the fact that while both Mussulmans and Christians admit its truth, the Mohammedans confess that the Yezidies hate their Ulema. As a relic of their former attachment to the famous monastery of El Kosh, they send it presents every year; and no one can be made a sheikh, without having shown this mark of respect.

With regard to *churches*, they have no buildings in their villages for public worship, nor any fixed day in the week for worship; but they are said to assemble in the ruins of the old churches of Sinjar for peculiar ceremonies; and the great place

* Rich's Tour, Vol. II.

of their pilgrimage was formerly a monastery and church, whose sanctuary is still visible. Every tribe, as in the Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem, has its own place in it. And never do they enter a church, without taking off their shoes, and as they enter, kissing, like the Christians, the threshold and side-posts.

These are all the practices that deserve mention, as showing their regard for Christianity; unless it is the additional one, that the only writings they preserve among themselves are certain large pieces of parchment in the Estrangelo character of the Syriac. These they call "Menshour," which is the Arabic name in use for a bull, or encyclical letter of the patriarchs of the various sects. Those which they possess are probably relics of such letters from the chairs of Antioch or Seleucia.

Death and Resurrection. When a person dies, they do not say "he is dead," but "he is changed;" and unless he has died a violent death, which demands revenge, they make the funeral rather a matter of external rejoicing. In the former case they consign his body in silence to the grave, and, shaving their beards, do not let them grow till they have avenged themselves. Into some of the pits of which we have spoken, it is said they throw money on occasions of a person's death; and it is probably true that with them also the custom exists, as with the Shanshié, of putting pieces of money into his mouth for his use in the other world, to buy a place in Paradise. Some buy the place of their own sheikhs. They have been said to deny the resurrection; yet they believe in a state of future existence, holding rather to the doctrine of metempsychosis—the soul for a certain series of years passing into the bodies of various animals previous to its final change.* Some of their tombs, as at Baasheka, are expensive monuments, in the form of fluted cones or pyramids, kept white in the midst of olive groves.†

Saints. They respect whomsoever is regarded as a saint by the Christians,‡ but their chief or patron saint, whom they say was the founder of their sect, is Sheikh Adi or Hadi. His tomb is at three hours distance from Sheikh Khan, at an ancient monastery. It is the great place of pilgrimage for Yezidies from all parts. Their principal burying place is also in its vicinity at Bozan, at the foot of Rabban Hormuzd; whither all who

* Gregoire Hist. Vol. II. p. 412.

† Dr. Grant's Tour. Rich's Tour.

‡ Garzoni, Desc. du Paskal, Bagdad.

can, have their bodies transported, even from the distance of Sinjar. This Sheikh Adi is supposed to have been either Thaddeus, one of the apostles, or Addeus, one of the seventy, or one of the twelve disciples of Mani or Manes.* Some sects are said not to show him any respect.

Idolatrous Worship. They worship both the fire and the sun. This is evident from many of their customs. When they rise in the morning, they turn their faces toward the east, cross a finger of each hand at the same time, and repeat some words of devotion. Others, as they rise, kiss the wall nearest to them upon which the sun shines; and others still are said to salute the sun as he emerges, with three prostrations. They will not spit on the fire nor blow out a candle with their breath, lest they should defile the fire.

They are reported also to worship images or pictures. Many have told me that they worship a peacock, calling him the Melēk Taous, or King Taous. Some say they put it on a stand, like a high candlestick, and repeat their devotions before it, perhaps but a few times in a year. The figure of the peacock may be made of metal or on stone or paper. A merchant who had travelled much among them, said that when he drew the figure of it on paper before them, they would kiss it with respect. The image of this bird, as they make it, has but one eye. The ancient fire worshippers believed that birds watched men to keep off evil from them.† I have often seen in Mesopotamia ancient sculptured stones, having upon them in *bas relief*, rude figures of a cock. The sides of a gate in the walls of Diarbekir are composed of many such ancient stones, with similar figures. The patriarch of the Jacobites pretended that every one of them carried a similar image about with him. It is probable that they show a superstitious respect to some other animals. An Armenian, who possessed a lamp with three branches but not lighted, told me that a Yezidi priest who saw it in his room kissed it with respect.

Prayer. Although it has been charged upon them that they never pray, yet it is only in the sense that they do not observe the legally appointed five times for prayer of Islamism. But when they rise in the morning, and at meals, they repeat prayers; and when assembled at the tomb of Sheikh Adi, the presid-

* J. S. Asseman, Bib. Or. Vat. Tom. III. p. 2.

† Frazer, Hist. of Persia, chap. 11. London, 1833.

ing priest repeats prayers, to which all the people say, Amen. Although they are careful never to lift their hands to heaven when they pray, yet they have been seen praying on their heels, their elbows and their foreheads. A Yezidi told Mr. Wolff that they never pray in Sinjar, but that the Yezidi Almanusia* pray in the open air one night in the year and call it the night of life; and fast thrice in the year.† Haji Kalfa also says, "They have made our fast and prayers a part of their abominable faith;" which must be, however, rather as an affectation of being Mohammedans than in reality.

Remaining Customs. They have sacrificial festivals which occur at least once a year. Their principal one is on St. George's and the prophet Elias's day. At Baasheka it draws together several thousand men, women and children; who, after sacrifice, play martial games, and end with excessive drinking. The custom of sacrifices, they have in common with the Mussulmans, Armenians, Nestorians and Jews. Like the Greeks they respect particular fountains as *agiusmas*—for certain salutary effects in curing diseases. It is a matter of notoriety that if any one draws a circle around a Yezidi, he dares not overstep it, till some one breaks it for him.‡ They are charged by some Mussulmans with holding most shameful nocturnal assemblies: but they bring the same charges against all heretical Mussulmans, and these charges are denied in their behalf by the Christians. When Mr. Rich was in the vicinity, there was a virgin named Bezama, who possessed a spirit which they supposed enabled her to foretell future events. Mr. Wolff pretends that in commemoration of the three days repentance of the Ninevites, they sit three days on the ground, and deny even suck to their infants during the period.§ That they dance around the ruins of ancient Babylon is extremely improbable, if only on account of the distance, there being no Yezidies in the vicinity.

Origin of the Sect. To investigate the truth of all the various pretensions of the people of Mesopotamia, who are found in their midst, as to the origin of the Yezidies, would demand too protracted a space. It may be worth while to record, on this

* Is this word derived from Mani, founder of the Manicheans, Al being the article?

† Rich's Tour. Wolff's Journals.

‡ Hyde, Hist. Rel. Vet. Persarum. Oxford, 1700.

§ N. Y. Observer, May 22, 1841.

point, the various and varying testimony of both Mussulmans and Christians ; and then, with all the facts and opinions before us, we shall be able to come to our conclusions.

Reports of the Mohammedans. They are accustomed to say that they are descendants of Yezid, the Moowiyān caliph, who unlawfully slew Hosein, descendant of the prophet and heir to the caliphate ; for which act he has been regarded as a parricide, and held in horror by orthodox Mussulmans. It is, therefore, a sufficient curse to call one whom you hate, "a son of Yezid."* This story to be consistent must mean that these Mussulmans left their faith to adopt this new one which did not then exist. Haji Kalfa says that Sheikh Hadi was descended from one of the Merwanian kings, a Kurdish dynasty, which ended not till the eleventh century. He possibly might have meant from Merwan the last of the family of the Ommiades. The Sinjar, they say, was once full of Mussulmans. Some say they gave up their faith, vexed with Islam on account of the murder of Hosein. Others that certain Jezira chiefs, Kurds, having quarrelled in their own country, fled to the Sinjar, and induced the people to leave their faith for their own, which was like the present Yezidi faith.

The Sheikh Abd es Selani, Mufti, or Judge of Mardin, loaned me an Arabic MS. history of Mesopotamia of his own authorship. In this work, after speaking of the origin and history of the Kurds, and giving many extravagant fables as to their origin, he thus speaks of the Yezidies :

"There is a branch of the Kurds, who are called Yezidies. They first appeared in Syria in the days of the Ommiades, and the names of some of their tribes are the Khaledi, the Denbeli, Mahmudi, Dasi-ni, Paspani, Keshaghli, called also Muvezzan, Sherkiyan, Sinjari, etc. Thence they returned to their own country and originated their sect. They date themselves from the distinguished Sheikh Adi ben Mûsafir, who was descended from the Merawiyān caliphs. Among their notions, they hold as abominable the heaven-descended books and the divine laws, which they regard as designed for the government of the world ; and therefore they hate the orthodox doctors of the law. They have a book called Jelû, which they pretend was written by Sheikh Adi, who was not guilty of it. And in it they are allowed the use of wine, and of adultery, in case of mutual agreement. They are forbidden prayers and fasting, and say that nothing else is necessary than purity of heart. They prohibit pilgrimage to Mecca. They

* Gibbon's Dec. and Fall, chap. 50. Ockley's Hist. of Saracens.

have sheikhs whom they call *Fûgara*, or poor, and it is said they are descended from Berkât ben Mûsafir, a brother of Sheikh Adi. It is lawful for these sheikhs to raise up children from other families, which the people permit and glory in. They describe the most high God with the attributes of eating, drinking, sleeping, etc. Their sect resembles much that of the Haluliyé.* They love the Christians, and are attached to some of their articles of belief, while they profess to be Mohammedans, and pronounce the creed of the one God and his Prophet. And this they think is lawful to keep off from them evil and war. So that when they meet with believers they say unto them, 'we believe,' but when they are alone with their Satans, they say, 'we are with you: verily, we were jesting.' They honor Sheikh Adi more than all the prophets. They possess most shocking narratives in contempt and ridicule of God and his prophet. And seeing how they degrade them between the hands of Adi, and prefer him to the rejection of both of them, according to their foolish stories and corrupt belief, may God be highly and greatly exalted above what these wicked blasphemers say! They honor Iblis more than all the angels. Whosoever speaks evil of him is by them treated as an infidel. They honor Yezid ben Moawiyah more than the prophets. They hate men of orthodox learning, and love dervishes and their saints and whatever bears any relation to the Sûfis or their monastic orders. And they will worship any place esteemed sacred, or any distinguished created being. The Yezidies are of four sects: some who honor Yezid more than Sheikh Hadi, and some who honor the latter more than the former. Then a third, who suppose that Sheikh Adi is God. And the fourth, that he is created, but is the most noble of all the prophets, and suppose that he has the office of Vezir, and that the Deity does nothing without having consulted with him, and they call him the Sheikh Hadi (guide). And they pretend that Lalesh the place of his burial is instead of the Caaba. Lalesh is a village near Mosul, north of the Diglé,—Tigris,—where is the tomb of Sheikh Adi. There is at Lalesh a fountain called Ain el Beidh, which with them is used instead of the waters of Zemzem. And in Lalesh is one of their wise men, who presents himself every year to whom he pleases, bearing with him the gold image of a calf. And he collects property from them, while whosoever does not honor him, and worship the calf, is treated by them as an infidel.

"In short, they have no sacred books and no religion, and they are all infidels of one mind. The Sultan has a right to their possessions and their blood, until they return from their fatal delusions: in accordance with the *fetwas* of Mohammed el Bergeli, the Kurd, and of others of the Ulema, who say, 'They are one of the sects of heretics from the religion of Islam. Of whom the prophet (on whom be peace) has signified in his word: The children of Israel were divided into seventy-two sects; but mine shall be divided into seventy-three sects, all of whom except one are reserved for fire.'"

* A sect of Mohammedans who made forbidden practices allowable.

This extract from the credulous and bigoted Mufti's manuscript accords nearly with our own facts, although many are not worthy of belief, and their practices, of Christian origin, are explained as they would be understood by a Mussulman. The various spelling of the sheikh's name exists in all manuscripts.

Reports of the Christians. All the Christians of that country pretend that the Yezidies were once Christians, and the Syrian Jacobites and Nestorians claim them as having belonged peculiarly to their several churches. One of the fables narrated to me by a bishop, and from which truth may be elicited, is the following. There were two convents near to each other in the Sinjar, containing, the one forty monks and the other forty nuns. The patriarch was called to reside for a long period at Jerusalem. During his absence a letter, apparently under his own hand and seal, came to the convents, enjoining the monks and nuns to intermarry, which they did. The patriarch, on his return, proved that the letter was not his, and they were convinced of the same, and were persuaded that they had been betrayed into this conduct by the machinations of Satan. From that time they have been so fearful of the designs of Satan, that they tremble to pronounce his name. All the ecclesiastics, the Fùgara and the Kowwal, are said to be descended from these unlawful marriages.

The testimony of another bishop was, that hundreds of years since, the three mountains, Tor, Athur and Sinjar were full of convents, with hundreds of monks, as was indeed the case. Tor mountain is still inhabited by Jacobites. The Athur spoken of in Gen. 10: 11, is still shown near Mosul, and history informs us with regard to Sinjar or Singara. The ruins of churches in the Sinjar still have attached to them the names of Scripture or other saints. Now, in documents still existing, he said, in the patriarchal convent near Mardin, are records of the quantity of grain sent, according to the present custom of the churches, from the Christians then existing in Sinjar, to the convents of Tor. The Christians even deny that they ever were Mussulmans, and say that they circumcise themselves only from fear, and that the Fùgara priests do not suffer it, when they can help it, for their own order.* They know that they adopt Mussulman names also only on the same pretence. The Nestorians say that the respect shown to their ancient patriarch, El Kosh, by no small

* Williams's Dict. Rel.

portion of the Yezidies, is evidence that they had in former times an intimate relation with them.* The people regard them also as destitute of a positive, uniform system of religion, who with very little exertion might be brought to a pure faith.

Reports of the Yezidies. As Gibbon remarks with regard to the Sabians, or Christians of St. John, so we may say in reference to the Yezidies, "that it is a slippery task to ascertain the creed of an ignorant people, afraid and ashamed to disclose their secret traditions." There can be no doubt that they are in the habit of claiming for their founders or chief men, that they are descended from the royal family of Ommiades, of which Yezid was one. The regard they show to Christians is not an affectation to gain their favor. Although Niebuhr says, that "they make themselves of the opinion of whatever sect asks them of their religion, but that if fairly convicted of being Yezidies, they will say they are orthodox Mussulmans," it is no less true that no one is deceived by it.† Christians and Mussulmans both know the facts, and both regard the latter profession as the hypocritical one. They never, however, call themselves by the name of Yezidies. They regard it at present, whatever may have been its origin, as an epithet of reproach. They but imitate all the pagans of the empire in taking Mohammedan names. As a people they take their names from those of ancient tribes, and from the places where they originated, or are at present found. They admit that they do not all sympathize with each other, or have the same ceremonies. They are obliged to exercise secrecy, because as they cannot pretend that their religion is founded on any of the four sacred books, Mussulmans, from their creed, would be obliged to kill them. One man, who had been much with them, told me that their private name for Mussulmans is Hoseini.—Their own name, which happened to have a similarity of sound with that of the caliph Yezid, may be derived from *Yezed*, meaning, the good God, as the Guebres still use it, for the good principle;‡ or it may be derived from *Yezd*, which is now the head-quarters, and always has been the chief holy city of the Guebres, or Parsees,—fire-worshippers. We may well suppose even that there is an affinity between the name of the city

* J. S. Assemani, Bib. Or. Vat. Vol. III. p. 415. Vol. II. p. 264.

† Niebuhr, Voyage dans L. Arabie, Vol. II. 279.

‡ Sherif ed Din Aly, Hist. Timur Bec. Tom. III. p. 81.

and their name for God. It is found also in the compound name of some of the kings of Persia, as Yezdigird (Isdegerdes).*

Results. After a careful survey of the facts here presented, the summary of our conclusions would be, that the Yezidies are a corrupt remnant of the sect of Mani,—Manes,—and might be called Manicheans. We regard them as being of the original races who inhabited Assyria, and though largely intermixed with other people, as of the same descent as the clans whom we now call Kurds. Previous to the introduction of Christianity, they were all either worshippers of the sun or of fire. Then, Christianity being introduced made greater progress here than in any part of the Persian empire, and after three hundred years began to be assisted by the arms of the Christian Greek emperors of Constantinople. The Persian emperors having repulsed the Romans, at the instigation of the Magian priests, commenced intolerable persecutions against a spreading population of Christians intermingled with their own sect. At this time the religion of Mani had begun to make much progress, and bishops and people, adopting their views, obtained temporary protection from the fire-worshippers. When the Arab Mussulmans began to overrun Persia, the sword or the Koran being the choice of these idolators, they outwardly embraced Islamism, being protected by mountains from fierce or continual persecution. Since the period of the Saracenic conquests, their mountains have been at times the refuge of various people, as of Arab and Kurdish Mussulmans, whose descendants adopted the religion of those whose country they were inhabiting.

These conclusions may be confirmed and illustrated from well known historical facts. We have already attempted to show that we must regard the Yezidies as of the same race with the Kurds; while we know that the name, Kurd, has been gradually extended so as to cover nearly all those people whom in history we have known by the varying names of Assyrians, Parthians, Medes, Elamites, Cardychians, and apostate Jews—all, that is, who are neither Mohammedan, Christian, or Jew. The religion of the court of Persia and of the majority of the people up to the time of the battle of Kadesia, A. D. 636, was that of the Magians following Zoroaster. Christianity, in its churches and bishops, had become an object of persecution with them, as early as the first century. In the persecution of Shapor,

* D'Herbelot, *Biblioth, Orien. in loc.*

A. D. 330, twenty-two bishops alone suffered martyrdom. And from this time till long after the Saracenic conquests, the Greek emperors persecuted all Christians who were of the Eutychian, Jacobite, or Nestorian sects, as well as the fire-worshippers found among them. Their patriarchs made the best temporary treaties they could with both the Greeks and the Persians—being in a country of border-land, they were semi-independent princes—tributary to that government whose power, for the time being, happened to be the strongest. Many of these persecuted Christians became fire-worshippers, and, after the Saracenic conquests, Mohammedans, to avoid the oppressions either of the Persians, or the Greek patriarchs through the emperors, who wished to have them make the sign of the cross in the same manner as themselves. The Nestorians were spread, even more than the Jacobites, from the mouths of the Tigris to the Taurus. The Jacobite convent of Mar Maltei had been founded in A. D. 334; and although El Kosh was not built till A. D. 591, still their bishops and monks were numerous. Harassed on both sides, partially independent of both Persians and Greeks, corrupted in their own views of religion, it is not wonderful that they became the willing believers of a new religion.*

Mani or Manes, the founder of the Manicheans, was a fire-worshipper of Persia, and a painter by trade. He was not so much a heretic of the Christians, or of the fire-worshippers, as, like Mohammed, the founder of a new religion. He wished to combine into one whole the metempsychosis of India, the principles of Zoroaster, and the doctrines of the gospel.† Now if we regard the testimony furnished in this article, as to the present religious belief of the Yezidies, and compare it with what is furnished by Augustine, in his confessions, and by others, we shall see great reason to believe that they were Christians originally, who adopted his views. From what motives we do not entirely know; but it is a matter of record in history, that bishops with their flocks were led to adopt the fantastical views of transmigration, of an independent evil principle in nature, and of a Christ who did not die, instead of their former unique faith. The twelve disciples of Mani, one of whom was Adi, had widely sown their seed before the year 334—and, though persecuted by the Magi, by excommunications and armies from

* Gibbon's Dec. and Fall. Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. passim.

† Encyc. Amer.

Constantinople, and doubtless by the Christian provincial governors of the heretical sects, they still for centuries abode in their faith.* The bishops at Mardin admitted that there were large defections from their church to the fire-worshippers, who in that region were mainly Manicheans, to avoid the persecutions directed against them from the days of Theodosius to Heraclius.

We have, therefore, in the period that Mohammedanism in its fiery zeal was flooding Persia, a people on their route, who were neither Magians nor Christians, but Manicheans. We know that while the Mohammedans would tolerate the pure Sabians, or adorers of the heavenly host, they put no bounds to their hatred of the Magians, or fire-worshippers. But the Manicheans might in those days claim to be "people of the Books," and obtain, on paying tribute, a measure of toleration. In the course of time, however, still more or less oppressed by the Mussulmans, they would, from the plastic nature of their own creed, find little difficulty in professing to have conformed to Islamism. It is not improbable, as Mohammedan authors tell us, that the soldiers of the Caliph Yezid, who put to death Hussein, and the followers of the fallen family of the Ommiades, fled across the desert, and found a refuge among these Manicheans; who, being predominant in their native mountains, the new-comers, in their descendants, adopted their religion. Yezid did not die till A. D. 683, when nearly all that country and Persia were professedly Mohammedan. It is known that in past centuries a branch of the widely extended tribe of Tai Arabs, having quarrelled with the rest of their tribe, joined the Yezidies, and now they cannot be distinguished from them.† Fugitives from other heretical sects, as the Carmathians of the Mohammedans, may have been combined with them.‡ The name of Yezid having been from the first an accursed one, the Mohammedans may have designated, by the name of this

* It is not impossible but that at a period and in a region where Nestorians and Jacobites were so nearly dominant, that the patriarchs should compel the new sectaries of Mani, as a compensation for toleration, to bring yearly contributions to their convents. And this will explain the presents they made to the Jacobites, and now make at El Kosh.

† Rich's Tour.

‡ Sales' Koran. Prelim. Es.

prince of murderers and heretics, the people among whom his followers took refuge: just as they are disposed to give to all pagans in their midst the name of Yezidi. Their present chiefs are called by them sons of Beys; and, as princes of the blood, are distinguished in every point from those of inferior race who accord them these titles. Perhaps the tribe called Koreish in the Sinjar are similar immigrants, who, being originally of high rank, are still held in honor by the original peasant race of the country.* It is in the same manner that many of the peasant tribes of Kurds, who are the original inhabitants of the country, are now swayed by families descended from such dynasties as the Eyyoubites or the Merwanians.

The Yezidies in their present state, degraded and ignorant, cannot be supposed to show, either in their practices or belief, any thing like a correct transcript of Manicheanism. Enough if the resemblances are sufficiently striking to enable us to attach this name to them, while we may not be able to class them anywhere else. We wish that we had space to compare the facts we have given with the conclusions to which we have come. Those who are interested may, however, do it more effectually for themselves than we can for them. We would observe in addition, however, that when the various notices and practices of the different tribes shall be compared with each other, there will be found various particulars in which they so much differ from each other, the contradictory practices ascribed to all being found limited to a few, that we can still subdivide them into other sects.

Those people also who, in the regions bordering on the countries where Turkish and Arabic are spoken, and are called *Shemshié*, or fire-worshippers, may be found to deserve as properly the name of Yezidies as many who really bear the name. They are now nearly all of them members of the Jacobite church. Near Eski Sheher, in Asia Minor, is a people who have a resemblance to Christianity, while still they are accounted as heathen. The Ausairyé of Syria might, perhaps, by a popular freak of Islam, have been as well called Yezidies. There is a numerous population west of the Northern Euphrates, and near Sivas, called *cheragh sonderan*, or light-extinguishers, and who are either a remnant of the original pagans, or the heretical Christians of the country. If they had been in Arabia instead of Turkey, they would perhaps have received

* Jahn's Introd. Andover. p. 350.

the name of Yezidies. They relate the same abominable stories of the one as of the other. Divrigi—the ancient Tephric— is a city between Sivas and the Euphrates, where they compose the majority of the Mussulmans of the place. It is noticeable that this was the strong fortress and last refuge of the Paulicians, under their general Carbeas, in the year A. D. 870.* The Paulicians grew out of the Manicheans, and these appellations were interchanged for each other in those centuries. I regard it as worthy of notice, that the tombs of their Beys and Sheikhs, which I saw there, resembled, in their pyramidal and fluted structure, those erected to the Yezidi sheikhs at Baasheha. They maintained themselves here in alliance with the Mohammedans for a long period, as late as the twelfth century, and in consideration of the help that these Paulicians or Manicheans gave them against the Christian Greeks, it is probable that the Mohammedans continued to tolerate their existence.

The idea that the Yezidies are a corrupt remnant of the Manicheans is not a new one. It was long since conjectured and defended by Beausobre,† but it was denied by Mosheim.‡ From that day to this the question has been little mooted; but the observations of travellers have been collecting in the mean while. At the time Mosheim formed his judgment, he had hardly any materials to aid him, as we have in this day, when so many reports are before us. It was not till the body of this article was completed that I met with the *Ashkhara Kirutium*, a universal geography in twelve volumes, printed in Armenian, at Venice, 1806, the author of which was a priest, Lucas Injijyan, who had travelled much in those countries. He asserts positively that they are descended from the Manicheans.

The following extract contains all of importance of the remarks of Father Lucas on this people; and, as being the testimony of an oriental, may properly be appended, even when he contradicts or repeals some of our statements:

“—— They are of the Christian religion, and of the sect of the Manicheans; but they have only the appearance of Christianity mingled with other doctrines, since they have neither our baptism nor circumcision. They swear by the name of Jesus, saying, ‘*bé Isa nourani*,’ i. e., ‘in the name of Jesus the enlightener.’ After the

* Gibbon’s Dec. and Fall, Chap. LIV.

† Beausobre’s *Hist. de Manichéisme*, Tom. II.

‡ Mosheim, Ed. Murdock, Vol. III. p. 140.

same manner, when they drink wine, they drink it in the name of Jesus, saying, *Kasi Isa*, i. e., 'the cup of Jesus;' and the person who is feasting with him replies, *Ashki Isa*; i. e., 'love of Jesus.' Also they have this custom, that when a person is drinking, he must take the glass with both hands, and take care besides that not a drop falls to the ground. They neither fast nor pray, saying that Sheikh Hadi took upon himself in their behalf all their fasts and prayers, and in the day of resurrection he will cause them to enter paradise with an infinite multitude. And the whole of their praying is, when rising in the morning to cross their thumbs; and when the sun's rays strike them, they kiss them, and regard their prayers as thus finished.

"Every tribe has a married sheikh, who, like their priests, wears next his skin a garment of hair-cloth. When their priests perform their resemblance to the sacrifice of the Lord's Supper, they put on a white robe like a shirt. They then put pieces of bread into a cup of wine, with the head uncovered, and pray in silence for a quarter of an hour without a book. The common people buy from them places in paradise. The chief of the Sinjar sheikhs, once a year, loads a horse with gifts, and goes to El Kosh; where, on bended knees, he receives the blessing of the Nestorian Patriarch. They call Satan the wicked principle, like the Manicheans, but they honor him, that he may not do them harm. And they imagine that although he has now lost favor with God, yet like a servant he shall return to reconciliation with God. * * * Some say that in the region of Alashgird they swear by the name of Salté, who they say is the mother of the great demon Satael. They love Christians, and do not avoid their churches. And if they see a lamp lighted before the altar, or before a picture of the virgin Mary, they cross their breasts with the oil.

"They hate the Mohammedans, yet use all their names except that of Mohammed. So great is their enmity to them, that if they can slay one of them they regard it as a sacrifice made to God. And the more to humble them, they strive to slay them by striking the *nape* of the neck. They then lap up the blood on the reeking sword, or drink a cup of the blood. They keep the laws of marriage—abjuring polygamy. And they execrate sodomy and fornication. They do not regard theft and robbery as sins, and it does not trouble their conscience to despoil travellers and to plunder villages; so that they have but two trades—robbery and agriculture.

"It is said by some persons that the Yezidies are descended from the ancient Assyrians, which is confirmed first, from the fact that they are living in that part of Armenia which was called Assyria. Secondly, it is confirmed from the fact that their chief priest goes to the patriarch of the Nestorians, who are Assyrians. Thirdly, although they have no books, yet if a book be found with one of them, it is in the Syrian tongue. With all this, however, it is not unlikely that they merely learned or received their science and religion, if we may call such vain superstitions learning. For, that which opposes the belief that they are Syrians, is that their language is Kurdish, and they in their origin must be regarded as Kurdish people.

"They are called Yezidies, because they believe in Yezi; and they swear by his name as to the name of Jesus; and hence are called Yezidies."

ARTICLE III.

EXPOSITION OF 2 PETER 1: 16—21.

By Rev. G. Einlen Hare, Rector of Trinity Church, Princeton, N. J.

JESUS of Nazareth did not affect outward grandeur or magnificence. It was notorious and undenied that he had been nursed in a manger; had lived, the most of his earthly days, in an obscure town of Galilee; had died the death of a malefactor.

Mankind, who look much to the outside of things, were not easily to be persuaded that such a person, after his death, was in power at the head of the universe; that one so humbled and degraded, was about to revisit the world in superhuman glory, the acknowledged and indisputable Judge of quick and dead. Whence it came to pass that Simon son of Jonas, the man whom the Redeemer had called, upon the lake of Galilee, from a fisherman to be an apostle, found it necessary, when he had grown gray in the service of his Master, and was in constant expectation of the martyrdom preannounced to him by the Redeemer, to put on record for his cotemporaries, and for the men of future time, the solemn protestation, that the tidings his life had been spent in proclaiming, the tidings that the despised man of Galilee was now in power, and to them that looked for him was about to come the second time unto salvation, had been founded upon the sight of his eyes, the witness of his senses; was a message bottomed upon this fact, among others, that, on the Mount of Transfiguration and within Simon Peter's hearing and seeing, Jesus had *exemplified* his ability to come in glory; a fact which imparted to the prophetic assurance of a Messiah who should make his appearance in superhuman majesty, such sureness, such reliableness or confirmation, as the payment of an instalment imparts to a promise or contract.

Such, with the addition of a warning in relation to the principles upon which the prophetic writings are to be examined, seems to be the amount of the passage now under consideration. In the particular investigation of the paragraph, the first words

which require attention, are ἐγνωρίσαμεν ὑμῖν τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δύναμιν καὶ παρουσίαν. In what views or aspects, had Peter and the other apostles been accustomed to make known the *power* and *coming* of the Lord they preached? That the man who had been miraculously born of the blessed Virgin Mary; who, although he possessed a divine nature, had veiled that nature in the flesh of humanity; who had been seized and crucified by wicked men, in entire accordance, however, with his own everlasting purpose; that this being, the man Christ Jesus, had, in his human quality, ascended into heaven, and there sat down at the right hand of God; angels and authorities and powers being made subject to him; the whole universe being committed into his hands;—and that there and thus, as the descendant of David, the man Christ Jesus, he was to continue until he should perfectly accomplish the objects of his incarnation and put all enemies under his feet; capturing man's capturers; overthrowing the kingdom of darkness; and last of all, destroying death by recalling mankind to life,—this undoubtedly was the light or aspect in which Peter and his fellow apostles were accustomed to present to view, the *POWER* of their Lord Jesus Christ. The philosophy of the thing, why the Son of God did not disrobe himself of his humanity, when it had served the purpose of suffering; why he chose to be caught up to heaven as Jesus, the son of man, the offspring of human nature; why it was proper that, on his ascending up where he was before, he should take a *mediatorial* or *delegated supremacy*. Such questions the apostles nowhere answer.

Very possibly, the apostles *could not* have answered such questions. These points may be among the things which the angels desire to look into. As the Old Testament prophets searched what, or what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ which was in them, did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory which should follow, and had it revealed to them in answer, that it was not unto themselves they were ministering; so, if Peter and his fellow apostles inquired what was the necessity, the connection, or the reasonableness, of the several parts of the mystery of the mediatorial kingdom, it seems altogether probable that to them it was revealed that they were to know in *part* and prophesy in *part*; the finishing of the mystery of God, the development of the divine plans, being reserved for the perfected or future stage of man's existence.

But it was not only the mysterious *empowerment* of the man of Nazareth that the apostles preached. Peter and his fellow ambassadors made known unto men "the COMING" as well as "the power" of their Lord Jesus Christ. Was it a past, a by-gone coming; the coming or birth which took place at Bethlehem, that they meant by such language? Absurd to suppose it. If this historical fact had been all they intended by the term, they had not needed to make such solemn protestations, to insist that they had not followed cunningly devised fables, to appeal to miraculous proofs. Who denied,—of what unbeliever was it worth the while to deny,—that the Galilean Jesus had, some threescore years before, made appearance in the world?

The coming the apostles busied themselves to make known, was a future thing—the fact or doctrine which had been announced by Jesus in the words, "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man coming upon the clouds of heaven;" by angels in the message, "This same Jesus shall so come even as ye have seen him go;" by Paul, "As Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many, so to them that look for him shall he appear the second time;" by John, "Behold he cometh in clouds, and every eye shall see him." It is the great fact which makes well nigh the sum and substance of this second Epistle of St. Peter; that, unexpected as a thief in the night to a householder, or as the deluge to the men of the time of Noah, the heavens shall be rent in twain; the same who once stood a culprit before the bar of Pontius Pilate, shall, in radiant glory, and announced by the trump of God, descend from on high the acknowledged Judge of quick and dead; the earth and the sea shall give up their inhabitants, death and hades be cast into the lake of fire, the place of the present sky and earth be supplied by another, a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness;—all, at the bidding of "the second man, the Lord from heaven," of that mysterious one, the conceived of a Virgin, the tempted by the devil, the crucified on Calvary. Too deep the doctrine for human penetration! The Son of God; the unique issue or emanation of Jehovah; the coequal and co-eternal with the Father; veiling his Godhead, putting on humanity, entering with that humanity (with his own blood) into heaven itself, there to appear in the presence of God for us, about to return to earth, that same Jesus and in that same manner, as his apostles saw him depart! I pretend not to fathom or explain. I believe, therefore have I spoken. I marvel; I

admire ; I adore ; confidently looking for the day when I shall see (astonished perhaps that I could not see before) that the whole of this great plan, in its every part, was demanded by necessities which were no otherwise to be met ; was contrived by a wisdom which does nothing without a reason ; was the one meet scheme by which apostate and outcast man could be recovered from sin to holiness, from death to immortality, from Satan to God.

On an occasion when our Master apprised his disciples that he was about, at a future time, to be manifested in a style and manner different from his seeming in the days of his humiliation ; he accompanied the prophecy or promise with the assurance of a *sign* soon to be given, and sufficient to attest the veracity of the great declaration. He said to his followers (Matthew 17, Mark 9, Luke 9), “Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed *when he cometh in the glory of his Father and of the holy angels* ; and then, to satisfy the bystanders that he could and would thus come, in more than kinglike glory, by way of naming a sign or token, which sign or token, when it should come to pass, would furnish an earnest of the after appearance in Godlike majesty, he added (in the same breath, as it were), “Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here, who shall not taste of death till they *see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom*,”—his kingship.* The instalment or earnest, the specimen which some standing there were to have, of the Redeemer’s second and kinglike coming, was not delayed. Very few of the bystanders could have tasted death when (it was but eight days after) the Saviour manifested himself in such an aspect, and in such circumstances, as the splendid advent of the Messiah is portrayed in, by the prophets ;—in superhuman brilliancy, accompanied by saints, with glorious acknowledgment or accrediting from the Father. Luke relates the prophecy of a coming in glory ; mentions the naming of a sign to be speedily vouchsafed, and proceeds : “It came to pass about eight days after these sayings, Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John, and went up into a mountain to pray ; and

* מְלֻכָּה מְלֻכָּה, and βασιλεία, often occur in the sense of “kingship.” See Ps. 22: 29. 1 Chron. 29: 11.

the fashion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment was white and glistening—and behold there talked with him two men; which were Moses and Elias; who appeared in glory and spake of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem. Peter and they that were with him . . . saw his glory. While Peter spake, there came a cloud and overshadowed them, and a voice out of the cloud which said, This is my beloved Son—Hear him.”

With these facts in mind, we cannot be at loss in regard to the circumstance, that (when in the passage under review, St. Peter insists that himself and his colleagues had not followed cunningly devised fables, or been imposed upon, in relation to that present power and future coming of Christ, which they so strenuously made known) he adds, “*We were eye-witnesses of his majesty*: He received of God the Father honor and glory, when there came such a voice from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, which voice we heard when we were with him in the holy mount.”

Most interesting it is to ponder such a passage!—to observe that the apostles had it full before their minds that the world might rightfully demand for the tale that was told them, evidence; not hearsay evidence, but the evidence of eye-witnesses; evidence in relation to signs which were outward, signs which could be perceived by the senses, signs which were of such sort that no man of common sense could be imposed upon by them, if without reality. Yes, this second epistle of Peter is worth our study. It comes to us as the testimony of Simon Bar Jonas; the bold, hardy and strong-minded fisherman of Galilee; itself is a witness that this person was a sober man; no visionary; its morality being of that sound and stern description which no fanatic ever yet excogitated. The history of the time is a witness that its author could gain no earthly good from his testimony. Had he taken back that testimony, the recantation no doubt had saved him from the crucifixion, with feet upward, which tradition testifies he suffered shortly after at the city of Rome; which his master is said to have announced to him in the prediction, “When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee and carry thee whither thou wouldest not;” of which himself seems to testify the expectation, in the words (but little preceding the text), “I must shortly put off this tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me.” Nevertheless, though a sober

man, though attentive, as his words prove, to the fact that there was such a thing as following cunningly devised fables, though the history to which he bore witness brought him neither gold nor good repute nor ease; stigmatized him as a denier, or temporary apostate; led him to toilsome travel, to imprisonment, to constant hazard of a violent death; here stands his testimony, plain, positive, reasonable. He believed, he preached, the present power, and future coming of the despised man who had been, like a malefactor, taunted and crucified, on the ground of that which (he declares) his eyes had seen and his ears heard, a superhuman majesty, an audible and articulate voice from heaven.

Of the large body of prophecy which is contained in the Old Testament Scriptures, a great part remained yet unfulfilled when our Saviour was in his state of humiliation. If some of these predictions spoke of the king to come, as a prophet or a priest; as publishing to men the way of life, or as making his soul an offering for sin; others (and those by far the more numerous) represented the Messiah as attaining to universal empire; which latter class formed the stumbling-stone upon which the larger part of Israel fell. The Jews could not understand that the kingdom or sovereignty of the Messiah was to be progressive; an empire founded upon a sacrificial death, growing by means of an invisible agency, and to be revealed or developed only in the end of the days. As an example of a prophetic description of the Messiah, which was not accomplished during the time of the Saviour's first coming, take that remarkable vision of the prophet Daniel,* in allusion to the language of which our blessed Master seems to have chosen the favorite epithet whereby to designate himself, the epithet "Son of man." The prophet sees empire rising after empire; describes with sufficient minuteness the overrunning of the world by the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, of Cyrus, of Alexander of Macedon; depicts (to all appearance) the well nigh universal supremacy of the Romans; and then proceeds, "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of Days did sit: I saw in the night vision, and behold! one like a son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days: and there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, na-

tions and languages should serve HIM ; an everlasting dominion which shall not be destroyed.” As these passages in the vision of Daniel had not had their counterpart or fulfilment in any thing which occurred in the days of the apostles, it must have been satisfactory to their minds, to find that the Saviour (so far from admitting that any part of the ancient descriptions of the Messiah might fail of being verified) adopted into his promises the very language of these predictions ; declared explicitly, “ Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.” Still more satisfactory and assuring must it have been to their minds to witness such a pledge or specimen of an attaining to universal and glorious supremacy on the part of the Son of Man, as Peter, James and John had at the transfiguration. The “ word of prophecy,” to the view of these disciples, must have become “ more sure” when such an instalment was paid on it, when there was given such a sample or token of the ability of their Master to pay the whole.

This seems to be the meaning of St. Peter, when (passing from the testimony to the present power and second coming of Jesus afforded by the scene on the mount of the transfiguration) he adds, ἔχομεν βεβαιότερον τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον—a sentence which can never be properly translated “ we have also a more sure word of prophecy.”—Buttmann (Grammar, Robinson’s Transl. § 125 u. 3) says expressly : “ When an adjective *without* the article stands in connection with a substantive which has the article, but not between the two, the object designated is thereby distinguished not from other objects, but from itself in other circumstances : e. g. ἦδετο ἐπὶ πλουσίοις τοῖς πολίταις does not mean ‘ he rejoiced on account of the wealthy citizens,’ but ‘ he rejoiced on account of the citizens because they were wealthy ;’

. . . . ἔχει τὸν πέλεκυν ὀξύτατον, where we indeed can only translate (?) ‘ he has a very sharp axe,’ but where the more exact shape of thought is ‘ the axe which he has (and must have for his enterprise) is very sharp’ [he has his axe very sharp].” In the smaller edition of his grammar (Boston 1831, § 125 Rem. 2) the same high authority expresses the canon rather more definitely : “ When the adjective *without* an article, stands *before* the article of the substantive, the object is thereby distinguished not from others but from *itself* under other qualifications, as ἦδετο ἐπὶ πλουσίοις τοῖς πολίταις signifies, not ‘ he rejoiced in the rich citizens,’ but ‘ he rejoiced in the

citizens' being rich.' " All the conditions of these rules are fulfilled in *ἔχομεν βεβαιότερον τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον* : *βεβαιότερον* is without the article, it stands in connection with a substantive which has the article ; it stands *before* the article of the substantive—the point insisted on in the rule of the smaller grammar. We have met with few grammatical canons more generally observed in the New Testament than this of Buttmann—and therefore are persuaded that the only true translation of this sentence of St. Peter is, " and we have the word of prophecy in a confirmed condition ;" the idea of the writer being, that however trustworthy the prophetic statements of a Messiah to come in glory and upon the clouds of heaven, may have been *before*, they are now corroborated ; are rendered more reliable ; by that Type, specimen, or exemplification, of their complete fulfilment in due time, which was given on the Holy Mount.

When, in relation to the word of prophecy, the apostle proceeds, " unto which we do well that we give heed, as unto a lamp shining in a dark place, until day dawn, and the day-star arise in our hearts," the imagery is appropriate, beautiful and easy to be understood. Our world is benighted. The present stage of our being is one of darkness, a night the murkiness of which no philosophy of man can dissipate. But a single light, one dim and solitary torch, throws light upon the road which we are travelling, the home whither we are making. Until day dawn, the day of the resurrection, which will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, at least until the *Day-star* shall arise in our hearts ; without a figure, until a satisfactory conception, an uplifting presentiment, of the future, shall illuminate our inner man ; it is our duty and wisdom to be studious or observant of that solitary lamp—the word of prophecy or promise.

It appears to have been an ancient belief that prophecies (even such as truly deserved the name) might originate in the inclination of the prophet. When Balak sent to Balaam the message, " Come curse me Jacob—for I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed," the phrase showed plainly enough that the idolatrous prince was under the superstitious belief that the distant seer, of whose fame he had heard so much, had it in his power, of his

own will, to bring down the divine curse; the superstitious belief that predictions were to be attributed to those who announced them—being not so much the communication of Divine purposes already formed, as the means whereby the Divine purposes were to be effected. And it seems to have been with view to undeceiving the Moabite in regard to this matter, that the prophet of Mesopotamia, with unwilling honesty, made the protestation, “I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord, to do less or more of *mine own mind*.” If the Moabite had been right in his superstitious belief; if Balaam’s prophetic sentences had derived their efficacy from his own prayers or had had their origin in his own wishes; it is obvious that the true clue to the interpretation of these enigmatical speeches, would have been the study of Balaam’s individual character; the investigation of the influences which were brought to bear upon him; the inquiries, what were the traits which marked the prophet of Mesopotamia? To what imprecations or benedictions would such traits give rise? The true solution of his oracles would be a solution appropriate to the age, the temper, the circumstances of their author; on the obvious principle, that when a man speaks spontaneously or of himself, the best exponent of his meaning is furnished by his personal character and history. If Caiaphas had spoken of *himself* when he said, “It is expedient that one man should die for the people,” our chief business would have been to inquire who Caiaphas was; what were the age, circumstances and character, which distinguished Caiaphas; and the conclusion to which we should have been led, viz. that the speech imported merely that it was allowable to make an individual the victim of state policy; were unavoidable and beyond dispute. Not until the Evangelist tells us “Caiaphas spake *not* of *himself*, but being high-priest that year, *prophesied*,” do we come to know that the speech of this person not having been proper to himself as an individual (*ιδίος*), its *solution* cannot be proper to himself as an individual.

Such considerations throw light upon St. Peter’s caution, “knowing this first, that no prophecy of Scripture is of an interpretation proper to its author,” a caution bottomed upon the statements that “prophecy came not of the will of man,” that “the holy men of old spake as they were moved of the Holy Ghost.” The word the apostle employs, *ιδίος*, is opposed to *ἀλλότριος*. In the declaration *πᾶσα προφητεία*

γραφῆς, ἰδίᾳς ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται, we are assured that no Scripture prophecy admits of a solution proper to its *utterer*, as opposed to a solution appropriate to its *inspirer*; no Scripture prophecy can be explained exclusively from the prophet, from the peculiar character of the mind, situation, or habits of the individual who gave it expression; its meaning must be sought from its real *author*; from the character and views of God the Holy Ghost discoverable from other sources. Important doctrine! It shows us how little regard is to be paid to interpreters when they tell us that Zacharias cannot be shown to have been above his countrymen in the largeness of his conceptions, and that therefore the language of his song, however strong it may be, is meant to be understood only of temporal or national deliverances. It shows us that, if we discover, from the history of Daniel, that he was patriotic and abounded in national feeling, we are not to infer from this that his vision of a kingdom, which was to subvert all other kingdoms, is to be understood of a worldly empire, such as modern Jews may dream of; inasmuch as not Daniel but the Holy Ghost was the true author of this vision, we are to look for an interpretation which other prophecies or the declarations of our Lord, prove to be agreeable to the mind of the Spirit.—Above all, St. Peter's caution teaches us that if we would take heed to the lamp of prophecy aright, we must have *affinity* with the Inspirer of prophecy; must cultivate communion with him by prayer; must possess that spiritual mind which alone discerneth the things of the Spirit of God.

ARTICLE IV.

THE PRINCIPLES AND CLAIMS OF DEVOTIONAL MUSIC. A PRIZE ESSAY.

By Thomas Hastings, Professor of Vocal Music, New-York.

PRAISE, like prayer, is an important Christian duty devolving upon every individual of the human race. The obligations to praise God are unspeakably great; and whether we take into view the glorious perfections of his nature or the infinite bless-

ings he bestows, the duty is evidently one that should neither be neglected nor misunderstood.

Among the authorized methods of praise, that which employs devotional song holds a distinguished place; and to this method the precepts, examples and exhortations of Scripture seem chiefly to refer. God requires the whole earth to become vocal in his praise; nor can we for a moment suppose him indifferent either as to the manner or the spirit of our songs. And to bring our offerings with cold indifference on the one hand, or to cause them, on the other, to minister chiefly to the gratification of taste, must doubtless be displeasing to him as well as injurious to the public edification.

The subject of praise has not, in the present age, been often discussed with that freedom and fulness which its importance demands. The reasons for this neglect may be sought for in the unsettled state of public opinion in matters of taste. One class of Christians, distinguished for their love of music, have laid such peculiar stress on the cultivation of a favorite art as to awaken the prejudices of another class, who, deficient in musical taste, have regarded praise chiefly as a spiritual exercise. Both extremes have been in fault, and the disagreement has operated in various ways unfavorably to the interests of church-music. But if we would fully understand the claims of duty in this matter we must descend to first principles. Here the two parties may meet, and build together in repairing the wastes which have been occasioned through mismanagement and neglect.

What then is implied in the duty of singing to the praise of God? The answer is not difficult. The Scriptures furnish us with themes which are eminently distinguished for their spirituality, and these themes are to be uttered with heart and voice, in the devout eloquence of song.

To say nothing of the higher claims of music, there are certain properties of style which may well be termed fundamental. There must be melody, and harmony, and measured time, or there will be no music in our performances. There must be articulation, accent and emphasis, or there will be no distinctness or propriety of utterance. Music in the absence of these properties degenerates into jargon. But melody and harmony, time, articulation, accent and emphasis are things which do not spring up spontaneously. They are the results of patient, well directed effort.

There must also be an expressive utterance of the sacred text, accompanied with devout affections. And this, most of all, requires critical attention and mental discipline. Even in secular music, which employs feigned emotions, there is need of special training; and how much more is this essential where the nature of the exercise requires "truth within;" when all our motives and feelings and purposes are to be consecrated to the great object of religious worship!

Music, when applied to the themes of inspiration, should serve to clothe them with the power of eloquence. This is its express design. The words being given, the singer, like the individual who officiates in prayer, is to utter them impressively, as conveying his own sentiments in the presence of the heart-searching God. This view of the subject, evidently accords with the whole tenor of the Scriptures. It shows us the very soul and essence of devotional song; and every thing short of it, however decent or tasteful in regard to manner, must fail to secure the divine acceptance. Nor can such a method of singing be attained without a twofold preparation of the voice and the heart. To meet in the presence of God, as is too often done, without this preparation, is to offer the lame, the blind and the torn in sacrifice. It is bringing an empty oblation.

And is it possible that a principle so obvious and so important as this, can be practically disregarded? Can the entire musical arrangements of a Christian assembly be so ordered as virtually to set it aside? Nothing is more common. Instances occur throughout the land. To say nothing of the general deficiency in elementary cultivation by which the praises of Zion too often become a dead letter; it not unfrequently happens, when there is much appearance of talent, that the leading singers of either sex, are persons who make no pretensions to personal religion, while most of the associated band appear equally indifferent to the subject. Here of course the pleasures of taste are substituted for the fervors of devotion. At least this is true of the performers; nor is it for a moment to be imagined that they are alone in the transgression.

Charity requires us to impute many of the existing abuses to the absence of correct information. But this plea can never serve to annihilate responsibility. The requisite information should be obtained. Laid under infinite obligations to love and serve God, we ought by all means to ascertain what he requires

of us in the celebration of his praise. This he has so plainly revealed, that no one who will examine the subject need be in doubt. Indeed there seems to be at this present time a general conviction upon the minds of Christians, that all is not right, and that something ought to be done; yet as to modes of operation, as well as in reference to individual responsibility, there is much darkness and misapprehension. Habits are to be rectified, prejudices to be obviated, false maxims and principles to be set aside; and above all, the public indifference is to be done away before any thing effectual can be achieved in the way of general reform. Many, whose attention has been called to the subject, feel the necessity of exertion, but are so surrounded with difficulties as to be in doubt how they should act.

Let us inquire, then, what methods of improvement can be adopted, which will prove equal to the exigency?

1. Correct information must be widely diffused. The conviction on the public mind with regard to duty is altogether too indefinite. The responsibility is, in imagination, so divided and subdivided, as to apportion a trifling share to individuals. This is a delusion that must be broken up and dissipated. A general disregard to duty forms not the smallest excuse for individual neglect, but on the contrary is a powerful motive to personal activity.

Information should also be given in reference to physical capabilities. A multitude of prejudices, false maxims and principles would thus be annihilated. The want of talent, which is so generally exhibited, is in most cases the mere result of neglect and mismanagement. All, it is true, have not been equally favored. Some have ten talents, some have five, and some have one. But to say nothing of music as a fine art, requiring peculiar genius and susceptibility, we may venture to affirm, that the God of nature has been sufficiently bountiful for all the purposes here under consideration. This accords with the testimony of intelligent musicians on either side of the Atlantic—testimony which has been given under all the advantages of practical demonstration. So far as regards the interests of devotional song, it is evident that taste and talent lie much within the power of cultivation. Our ordinary methods of instruction, in reference to the fundamental properties of style, are, however, susceptible of great improvement; and specific information respecting them should be everywhere sup-

plied.* Where there is also the right disposition, there will in general be sufficient leisure for practice. Most of us can

* The following hints may serve as some illustration of what is needed :

1. During the period of infancy, the voice may be trained in song, much as in speech, and with about the same facility : while in later years the process becomes more difficult in proportion as it has been longer neglected. This shows the importance of early culture. Still adults should not be dissuaded from effort. All are susceptible of some improvement ; and multitudes, if duly encouraged, might in time become useful singers.

2. Qualities of tone, whether agreeable or disagreeable, depend chiefly on the habitual treatment of the vowels ; as upon these the voice is wholly formed. The amount of power, delicacy, &c., often depends on the character of training. Every teacher, therefore, should labor to improve his own voice, as well as his power of discrimination with regard to the voices of others.

3. Singing in just tune is by no means an instinctive faculty, but is in every case the result of well-directed imitation. Voices once well trained in this respect, may afterwards be vitiated by neglect, or by the bias of an imperfect teacher.

4. The due observance of measured time is a mere species of mental calculation, rendered habitual by persevering practice.

5. A good articulation may in most cases be easily obtained where habits have not become too inveterate. Here almost every thing depends upon the right treatment of the consonants. While vowels only are to be sung, consonants are to be articulated at certain given moments, with great precision ; and with a force always adapted to the circumstances of the auditor. Suitable reference must also be had to the power of accompanying instruments.

6. Music makes some general provision for accent and emphasis, but in sacred song, the sense of the words must take precedence of musical rules. Yet the latter must not be wholly disregarded. Breathing, too, should as far as possible be regulated by the punctuation and the sense of the language ; and the latter should by all means be made to flow with apparent ease and propriety.

7. The cultivation of right emotions in the singer is quite indispensable to just expression. This can never be done, without example seconded by appropriate effort. Efforts should also be repeated, till they result in the formation of a settled

doubtless command as much leisure as fell to the lot of the sweet Psalmist of Israel, sitting upon the throne of a mighty nation.

2. Let every one pursue the work of praise in his hours of private devotion. All who can speak have *native* talent sufficient for the ends of private edification. Multitudes who were never taught to sustain the melody of a tune, have acquired the important habit to which we here refer—a habit which no considerations could afterwards induce them to relinquish. It becomes in such cases a rich source of spiritual improvement. The Psalmist appears often to have been singing alone. This may be inferred from the occasional language of his themes, as well as from the circumstances that gave them birth. The primitive Christians appear to have acquired a similar habit. The Apostle says, “Is any merry (joyful), let him sing psalms;” not, let him wait till the hour of some public performance. Luther understood the importance of this method of singing; so did the late President Edwards. The latter, during the years of his ministry, would often retire into the forests and fields, spending hours together in singing aloud the joyous meditations of his heart.

3. Let there be singing uniformly at the family altar. This was one of the primitive practices that should never have been discontinued. It obtained also among the reformers of the sixteenth century. At certain hours of the day, whole villages became vocal with the songs of praise. We see not why family praise is not equally as appropriate as family prayer. Why should we be so constantly asking favors of God, and as constantly neglecting to “give thanks at the remembrance of his mercies?” True, there are other methods of rendering praise; but this is no reason why the one which has been constituted for this specific purpose should be neglected. Devotional singing has a delightful influence upon families, and were it generally practised in the domestic circle, we should soon see a corresponding improvement in the music of our churches.

habit; every thing short of this will fail to secure the desired end.

And now, when it is remembered that such things as we have here enumerated are almost universally neglected in favor of the claims of notation, which also in their turn are but imperfectly sustained, it is easy to discover what improvements and facilities are wanting.

4. Children should be early taught to sing. Early cultivation, when rightly directed, is uniformly attended with success. The measure of this success will not always be equal; but in those districts of country on either side the Atlantic, where juvenile instruction prevails, the imaginary distinction of natural and unnatural voices is never thought of. All are found to make progress in the art; and to receive impressions which will be lasting as life. And when we recollect that voices which have been neglected in childhood and youth, are afterwards prone through the increasing difficulties of cultivation, to be neglected in riper years, we see at once the importance of commencing at the right period.

In places where vocal music is made one of the regular branches of primary education, the children become fond of the exercises, and make rapid attainments in the art. Music is found to have an important influence upon their temper and conduct and physical health. It furnishes also an interesting method of impressing moral and religious truth upon the understanding and the heart. Testimony to this effect is abundant and unequivocal. Much good, therefore, can be effected in the way of juvenile cultivation. Children can be taught in public schools, in private classes, at the Sabbath school, or at the domestic fireside.* Why should not this species of instruction form one of the regular branches of a Christian education? If the matter were so understood, the happiest results would follow. An

* The earliest access which the *teacher* usually gains to his pupils, is at the infant school, where the process is chiefly that of imitation. In primary schools and juvenile classes, the rudiments of notation form a prominent object of attention; while the drilling exercises are occasionally relieved by the performance of songs sacred or secular, as solos, duos, choruses, &c., adapted to the juvenile taste, which the pupils are allowed to sing from memory. Lessons for the exercises should be so simple as to be adapted to the weakest capacity, and so numerous and so progressive, as to lead onward by easy steps to the higher walks in execution. Meanwhile the claims of style, as well as the affections of the heart, should not be disregarded; as early impressions, whether right or wrong, will be liable to have an abiding influence. In this last respect our existing manuals of instruction are doubtless susceptible of improvement.

entire generation might thus be raised up to unite in celebrating the praises of God, without a discordant voice.

Our country is just beginning, in a few limited sections, to reap the advantages of such an enterprise ; and the efforts which have thus been made are worthy of all commendation. But in most sections the case is far otherwise. In many Christian families, where there is an abundance of secular cultivation, the songs of Zion are either unknown, or known only as the sources of tasteful amusement. What an inconsistency ! What would have been thought of such management in the days of the patriarchs and prophets, and apostles, and martyrs, and reformers !

5. A school of a peculiar character is needed for the cultivation of church music ;—one which shall not pursue the less important properties of style, to the neglect of such as are essential to the interests of devotion ;—one which shall thoroughly develop the powers of vocal enunciation, in connection with pious sentiments and motives. Mere secular cultivation has its uses. It can do much towards disciplining the vocal powers. When well conducted, it can promote skill and susceptibility almost to any extent. It can in these respects go far beyond what is ordinarily attained in our schools of church music. But there is one thing all essential to the interests we are advocating, which it never cherishes. It never cherishes a devotional spirit. True, the strains of secular music are sometimes deeply pathetic, carrying with them the imposing influences of solemnity ; and especially so when applied to sacred words. But this influence, so far as religion is concerned, is often of a questionable character. It is more like the effect of religion dramatized, than like the genuine breathings of devotion. The latter are entirely of a different nature. They are by no means the necessary results of musical mechanism or imaginative sentimentality. They require special culture. They require self-examination, watchfulness and prayer, and holy meditation ; and where these are wanting, it is in vain to look for any thing better than the subdued tastefulness of musical display. Unless religious influences, therefore,—influences of a decided character,—are carried into our schools of church music, and made to abide there, the habits of dulness on the one hand, and of imaginative sentimentality on the other will continue to prevail. There will perchance be other things which in themselves are desirable. There may be taste and skill and verbal adaptation ; and, musically speaking, there may be pathos, and energy, and expression ; but after

all, the fervors of genuine devotion will be wanting. This truth has been abundantly realized as a matter of history; and yet the churches are slow to understand it. Why do they not consider that a sacrifice which is so uniformly heartless in its preparation, will in all ordinary circumstances be heartless at the altar of public devotion? The principle is perfectly plain and intelligible. One of two things, therefore, is inevitable. Either we must relinquish all ideas of permanent reform among singers in regard to spirituality, or else religious influences of an abiding character must be made to pervade our whole system of cultivation, from the nursery to the house of public worship.

Let secular music be cultivated with secular feelings and secular associations. This is perfectly appropriate and in strict accordance with the principles of the art; but the hallowed nature of divine song disclaims such alliances. We honor the men who are successfully devoting themselves to music as an art. Especially do we honor the Christian teachers, who are so zealously promoting elementary knowledge of this sort among the rising generation. They are doing a good work, and we love to bid them "God speed." One of the great difficulties at present to be encountered among adult pupils, may thus in time be removed.* Yet, as the praises of Zion cannot wait for a future generation, something effectual should be done for their immediate improvement. Nor does the distinction we are now insisting upon, lose any of its importance through the increase of elementary instruction. Volumes would fail to show its importance; and to a practical disregard of it in our schools, and social circles and families, is in a great measure to be attributed the want of spirituality in the music of our churches.

6. Religious influences should, as far as practicable, be carried into our larger concerts and rehearsals of *sacred* music. These

* The difficulty of connecting elementary criticism with influences which are strictly religious. The habit of constant drilling, tends to promote fastidiousness and musical exhilaration, rather than the purity or the elevation of religious feeling; while yet in the present state of things, much of this kind of drilling is indispensable. The tendency is too strong to be counteracted by any trifling exertions. A few formal petitions in prayer with languid cautionary admonitions will never suffice. The hallowed breathings of devotion will not be felt in the school unless there is habitual watchfulness, with a fervent spirit of supplication.

are often as entirely secular in their character and tendency, as if the themes of song had actually been designed for the worship of some heathen divinity. Much of the music applied to sacred themes by the first masters in the art, is imaginative rather than devotional—more adapted to exhilarate the feelings of animal nature, than to win the pure affections of the heart to the love of divine truth.* Such music is often full of professional merit—tender, figurative, bold or sublime—beautifully simple or scientifically elaborate; but, like many other productions of human genius, it occupies the regions of taste without entering the recesses of the heart. Music of this kind is peculiarly attractive to a portion of the community; and there is in many places a propensity to substitute it even in the church, in place of that which is strictly devotional.† This tendency is far from being lessened by concerts and rehearsals of the ordinary kind. Concerts of *sacred* music might doubtless be rendered occasions of religious improvement. When this is not done, their influence, to say the least, is of a questionable character.

7. If such an amount of responsibility, as we have seen, is involved in the office of praise, is it right to confide the whole management of this interest to a few inexperienced individuals?

* A single example may serve to illustrate our meaning. Let us take the sentiment, "*Hosanna in the highest*," which often occurs in musical pieces. If the singer on the one hand were to utter this sentiment as coming from the deep settled affections of his own soul in the presence of a heart-searching God, he would in most cases choose to give it a sweet, mild and tender enunciation, but the music should indicate higher feelings of real devotion than he possesses or recognizes in his fellow worshippers; but if, on the other hand, he is simply painting to our imaginations the enthusiasms of the multitude who uttered that sentiment some eighteen centuries ago, why then he is allowed to be vociferous and exclamatory. He may fill the ancient multitude with the highest possible rhapsody, and become frantic himself in the representation. In either of the two cases, *musically speaking*, he would act in character. In the one, he would be actually worshipping; in the other, he would be merely personating the ancient worshippers.

† Much might be said as to the character of tunes for devotional purposes, did our limits allow. Probably a reform in other respects would lead to great improvements here.

This was not the primitive method. David and Asaph and Heman and Jeduthun and the prophets and the apostles, who led in the praises of God, were men distinguished for their piety and influence. The same was true of the ancient fathers and the modern reformers. Luther's example is conspicuous. He not only sung, but he compiled and composed music for the churches; and while his sermons, that caused millions to tremble, are now forgotten, his Old Hundred and his Judgment Hymn may continue to edify the people of God to the remotest generations.

We know it has been said in these latter times, that singers are irritable, that their dissensions are incurable, and that in cases of difficulty, all authoritative interference will be worse than useless. Nor can we much wonder at the prevalence of such an opinion. The managers of operas and oratorios and grand concerts and festivals, have had sufficient experience of the bitterness of musical dissensions. Churches have sometimes been rent asunder and ministers driven from their charges by such unhappy causes. Many a sad incident has occurred to show the danger of such dissensions. But how does it happen that no examples of this nature are found in the Scriptures, which abound in the details of human imperfection? The truth is, that the sacred institution of praise has been neglected and abused in these modern days, till, in many respects, there is a general want of correct information in regard to it.

Music is the language of feeling. When cultivated merely for the purposes of personal gratification, emolument, distinction or display, it is of course liable, in many instances, to awaken among its patrons and devotees, some of the worst passions of the human heart; but when it is cultivated strictly for social and beneficent purposes, and especially for the promotion of the praise and glory of God and the edification of his people, its tendencies are necessarily and decidedly of the opposite nature. It strengthens the social principle. It awakens sympathy, cherishes affection, and contributes to mutual gratification and refined enjoyment.

And here lies the true secret in management with regard to religious music. Such music is not to be obtained without labor and care. It will never produce or regulate or preserve itself. Its interests cannot safely be confided to those who are destitute of piety or deficient in general influence. If music as a fine art has its difficulties and dangers, this is the very reason why devotional song should be more thoroughly taken in hand. Let

the pulpit breathe the gentle language of instruction, persuasion and encouragement, till the public conscience is well enlightened; let singing-schools be religiously conducted; and let influential members of the church become meek advisers and participators in the exercises, and look to God for a blessing. Such a course will be attended with ultimate success. Only let information be given, and let the leading members of a church become active cultivators, under the prevalence of a truly Christian spirit, and all will be well. Music in such cases becomes a sweet harmonizer of the affections. Jealousies and differences in taste and discrepancies of opinion soon disappear; and, under the influence of religious motives and feelings, the singers become united as a band of brethren, and cheerfully yield themselves to the judicious, mild direction of those who have authority in the church. Such a result will not always immediately appear, especially when there has been previous mismanagement; but we believe it has seldom failed when there has been a becoming measure of perseverance. The experiment will at least be a safe one; while there will be neither safety nor success without it. Let the pastor and the members of the church thus assume their proper responsibilities; and singers in the end will be as easily guided as any class of people. A truly Christian spirit will prove irresistible. It will overcome every obstacle, and lead to the happiest consequences. To the absence of such a spirit is chiefly to be attributed the difficulties which so often arise in the ranks of cultivation.

But not to enlarge on the methods of operation. We have seen that there is sufficient need of effort in the way of reform; and that the work is not impracticable. All that is required by the existing aspect of things, CAN BE DONE. The Songs of Zion can be fully redeemed from existing abuses, and rendered acceptable in His sight. All are interested in such a result; and must share in the responsibility. All as individuals are bound to praise God in the best possible manner. The duty is just as universal as are the obligations to love and gratitude; and amidst the endless diversity of talent there is something that every one can do. God proposes to be glorified in the offerings of praise. Who shall dare to rob him of this glory? And is it no crime to be negligent and heartless in the performance of such a duty? Is it nothing that the offerings of praise often become an offence to God—a vain oblation—an unmeaning service—a system even of solemn mockery? All this, as we have

seen, *can be prevented* ; and the methods of operation are before us. Let no one wait for the impetus of public sentiment ; but let all awake to the claims of personal responsibility.

And shall not the praises of God ascend from every closet and from every family altar ? Shall not the rising generation all be taught to sing ? Shall not schools be better sustained and conducted as well as more numerous attended ? Shall not the pulpit give instruction, and those who have influence and authority in the churches awake to duty ? Or have love and gratitude no longer any claims upon us ? Or has it come to pass that there is nothing so transcendently beautiful and glorious in the divine perfections, as to demand a purer sacrifice of praise ? So thought not the men of old, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost : “ Worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness ; ” — “ God is greatly to be feared in the assemblies of his saints, and to be had in reverence of all that come before him. ” Angels worship him, with veiled faces in the lowest prostration, though filled with the highest raptures of heaven. And while with such affections they cry, “ Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Hosts, ” — “ Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, ” — “ Who shall not fear thee and glorify thy name ! ” — “ Amen, blessing and honor and glory and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb forever and ever, ” shall the same hallowed and exalted themes be uttered by the church militant, in a listless, discordant, irreverent manner, or at best be made the favorite subjects for musical enjoyment or professional display ? It must not be. Love and gratitude forbid it. The glory of God and the good of his people forbid it. Yet thus it will be, as heretofore, unless Christians awake to effort. There is no other possible alternative. Habitual neglect is universally *punished* with barrenness ; and the principle is as important to individuals as to communities, and as applicable to musical enjoyment as to devotional spirituality. The men who consent to employ their gifts to the best advantage, and they alone, may expect, by the blessing of God, to find acceptance in the songs of praise.

But God is wont to smile upon the right observance of his own institutions. Already he has gone before us in the distribution of his heavenly favors. Religious singing-schools have been places of precious interest ; and revivals of religion have been promoted by their instrumentality. Larger blessings of a like nature are yet in store. Who then will not improve, to the

utmost, the talent which has been given him for the express purpose of promoting the praise and glory of God ?

We have presented only the claims of duty. We might speak of the many advantages of music as a fine art, notwithstanding its occasional liabilities to abuse. We might speak of the beneficial influence of music upon our higher seminaries of learning, and of its importance to an educated ministry. And especially might we speak of *devotional* song, as a rich source of enjoyment. It is a precious privilege to be *permitted* to celebrate the praises of God. It is the very employment of angels. It is heaven begun below. It affords a most delightful foretaste of the endless felicities above. Why should the sons and daughters of adoption wait until they arrive at the very threshold of heaven before they begin the celestial employment ?

There is one class of readers who are ready to shrink from the full responsibility of this employment. Though they respect religion, they make no pretensions to real spirituality, but have always regarded themselves as supplying the mere machinery, the beautiful mechanism of holy song. Shall the lips of these at once be sealed ? No—no. Let every one that breathes pour forth the notes of praise. Every living soul is called upon—“Young men and maidens, old men and children, praise ye the Lord.” Let every voice be tuned and put into requisition. We love to see the dear youth, and those of riper age, flocking to the religious singing-school. Many may there learn their lost condition, and find joy and peace in believing. Still the individuals who refuse to employ holy affections while engaged in the work of praise, must remember that God looks upon the heart, and that a heartless offering, whether in praise or prayer, can never be accepted. Let them prepare to come into his presence with heart and voice, with the spirit and the understanding : and thus coming he will smile upon them with the visitations of his grace.

But who are they that should be foremost in the ranks of improvement ? Who shall stand up in the places of Asaph and Heman and Jeduthun—in the places of the prophets and apostles and martyrs and reformers, to lead in the praises of Zion ? The disciples of the blessed Redeemer, so proverbial in these modern days for their delinquency, are bound, by every consideration of love and gratitude, to be foremost in showing forth “the praise of him who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light.” They above all others should be

leaders in the hallowed enterprise. Their children should be the earliest to lisp hosannas to the Son of David. The closet, the family altar, the social circle, the religious singing-school, the house of God, should all bear testimony to the beauty, the frequency, and the fervor of their offerings of praise.

The time is not distant when the glory of the Lord shall fill the whole earth; when the rocks and the hills and the valleys and the islands and the depths of the sea shall reverberate with the songs of holy joy. How delightful the thought! What a lively picture will such a scene afford of that place where the pure rivers of pleasure are forever flowing from the throne of God! There praise is an employment that shall never end. How pure, how sweet, how hallowed, how transporting must be the anthems of the blessed inhabitants above! Let us so cultivate the praises of God below, as to be prepared at length to unite in the universal, endless songs of heaven.

ARTICLE V.

AUGUSTINE AS A SACRED ORATOR.

By Rev. O. A. Taylor, Manchester, Mass.

THE following article, drawn up in substance several years since, at the suggestion of Dr. Porter, late President of Andover Theological Seminary, is an extract from a larger work, originally intended to contain a brief history of the pulpit from the beginning of the Christian church to the present time. It was to have for its basis a similar work by John William Schmid,* formerly professor of theology at Jena, with such alterations and additions as the case might seem to demand, to constitute substantially, however, an independent production. As much has been already said in previous numbers of the Repository, respecting the life and education of Augustine, it has been

* J. W. Schmid was born in 1744, and died 1798. His work is entitled, "*Anleitung zum populären Kanzelvortrag. 3te Ausg. 3 Theile. Th. III. herausgeg. von C. C. E. Schmid,*" Prof. of Phil. at the same place, who was born in 1761, and died in 1812. It was the third part of the preceding work which was proposed as the basis of this history.

thought best to omit the most that I had written on this part of the subject.*

Augustine is ranked among the most distinguished of the Fathers of the western church, and claims our particular attention as one of her most pious and eloquent preachers. He was born under the reign of Constantius, at Tagaste, a small town of Numidia in Africa, Nov. 13th, A. D. 357. Both of his parents were anxious to have him acquire skill in the liberal arts, but each from different motives. His father, who was a heathen, until near the close of life, had in view his promotion in the world; his mother, who was a very pious woman, his usefulness in the church, and the cause of true religion.

Under such circumstances, Augustine's education received, of course, every attention. His mother began to labor for his spiritual good in his very infancy, teaching him to pray, and endeavoring, with ceaseless assiduity, to imbue his mind and heart with the principles of Christianity. His father, for the accomplishment of *his* object, early sent him to a public school, at Madaura, near by; and, indeed, though not rich, as long as he lived, took great pains with his son's education. After the father's death, which occurred in Augustine's 17th year, the mother, buoyed up with hopes of the conversion and future usefulness of her child in the church of God, endeavored to complete what her husband had commenced.

Augustine early evinced strong powers of mind, a retentive memory, and great susceptibility of emotion. To the lighter kinds of Roman literature he soon became enthusiastically attached, particularly to the poets. He never read Virgil's account of the death of Dido, without tears. In his trials of skill with his companions, he usually excelled; and for his literary essays he often obtained the plaudits of his hearers, so that he was called a lad of promising genius. Nor did the increase of years belie the promise of his youth, in this particular. In other respects, however, the mother had every thing to quench her ardor. To all kinds of severe disciplinary study, her son was utterly averse.

* In addition to Schmid, as above referred to, the following authorities have been consulted: Augustini Opp., studio Benedict. Cong. St. Maur., Ant. 1700-3; Schröckh's christ. Kirchengeschichte; Du Pin's Hist. of Eccl. Writers, translated from the French; Cave's Scripturum Eccl. Historia; Butler's Lives; Milner's History of the Church of Christ; Mosheim; etc.

Hence, he never made much progress in the Greek. As to religion, he not only had none, but he showed himself reckless to the last degree. Take his own confession, as sufficient proof on this point. He is speaking of himself, while at Carthage, in the 17th year of his age. "I came to this place," says he, in substance, "with the flames of flagitious lusts burning around me, on every side. As yet I knew nothing of the love of God, although abundantly devoted to other loves. Famishing with secret poverty, I could not bear the thoughts of becoming less poor. I constantly ran out in pursuit of the object of my affections; wholly devoted to worldly things, and turned away in disgust from the snareless road of heavenly security."*

But the prayers of the mother, in behalf of the son, at length prevailed. After a long and vicious course, during which he had acquired great reputation as a teacher of rhetoric in various places, he was arrested by the Holy Spirit at Milan, under the preaching of the pious Ambrose, and hopefully converted to God.

Soon after this happy event, accompanied by his now joyful mother, who had followed him thither, Augustine set out for his native place. On this journey, while waiting at Ostia for a passage, he lost his mother. The account which he gives of this event in his Confessions,† is so excellent and affecting, that I shall be pardoned, I trust, for presenting the reader with the substance of it, in a translation. It will serve at least to exhibit the spirit of the man.

By thy secret appointment it so happened that, a few days before her death, she and I stood alone reclining on a window which overlooked a garden, in a house at the mouth of the Tiber; where, remote from crowds, we were, after the fatigues of a long journey, preparing for the voyage before us. There, all alone, we conversed very sweetly together; and, forgetting the past, launched out into the future, endeavoring, as with truth present, mutually to obtain correct views respecting the nature of thy being and that eternal life of the saints, the things of which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived. We sincerely panted after those celestial streams which flow from thee, the fountain of life; in order that thence, sprinkled according to our capacity, we might in any wise rightly contemplate so great a theme.

* Aug. Conf. Lib. III. c. 1. The original, in Augustine's characteristic style, is made up of quibbles and a continual playing upon words.

† Augustine Opp. Tom. I. Lib. IX. c. 10 § 23, p. 121.

Having drawn out our discourse to this point, that no carnal delights, how great soever their pleasure and worldly brilliancy, were worthy of being compared or were so much as named, with the joys of the life to come, we aroused ourselves, with a more ardent affection in contemplations upon this same subject, passing, by degrees, through all the material creation, and even that heaven itself, from which the sun, moon and stars illumine the earth. We ascended, as we reflected, conversed and admired thy works, and came to the consideration of our own minds, and passed beyond them, that we might arrive at the region of perfect fulness, where thou feedest Israel forever with truth; and where life is wisdom, the generator of all things, both those which have been, and those which are—unmade itself, but forever existing, just as it was, and thus forever to exist; nay, rather which has neither past nor future, but only the present, since it is eternal, and what either has been, or is about to be, is not eternal. While conversing and panting after this wisdom in full impulse of soul we measurably reached it, and breathed forth our desires, and left there, fast secured, the first fruits of the Spirit, and returned again to the sound of our voice, where the word has its origin and its ending,—unlike thy *Word*, our Lord himself, renovating every thing else, and never growing old,—and then we said: “What if the tumults of any one’s flesh should subside, and the phantasies of earth and ocean and air grow calm, and the poles be hushed, and the mind itself become silent, passing on in thought, unconcerned in its own affairs; what if dreams, and imaginary revelations, and every language, and every sign, and every thing else that could be named, should become altogether silent to any one,—since to him who listens they all say we did not make ourselves, but he who endures forever,—what,” we said, “since thus they now have spoken, erecting our ears towards him who made them, if now they should all become silent, and he alone should speak, not through them, but through himself, so that we could hear his word, not through a tongue of flesh, nor through the voice of an angel, nor through the sound of a cloud, nor through the enigma of a similitude, but through himself alone, whom in these things we love,—could hear him without their intervention, as now we extend ourselves, and with rapid thought reach that eternal wisdom which always remains over all; and what if the voice of him whom we thus heard, should be continued, all other visions of far inferior kind being subtracted, and this one alone left to ravish, absorb and bear away its spectator, wrapping him up in its internal joys, thus rendering eternal life such as we have found this single moment of intelligence for which we have panted, would not this be the meaning of ‘Enter into the joy of thy Lord?’ And that joy—when? When we shall all arise, but not all be changed?”*

* “Et istud quando? An cum omnes resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur?” 1 Cor. 15: 51. While the Greek codices all agree, in the Latin there are three different readings of this passage. Augustine has preferred the Vulgate. The change to which he doubtless conceives allusion to be made, is that of the children of God into the glorious likeness of Christ.

In such a strain was I conversing ; and if it was not in this manner and in these words, yet, Lord, thou knowest, that in that day, while we were holding such intercourse together, and the world, even in the midst of our words, with all its delights, was growing more and more vile in our eyes, that then she said to me : “ My son, so far as I am concerned, there is nothing that any longer delights me in this life. What there is more for me to do here, or why I should longer remain, I know not, my chief desire being consummated. One thing alone there was, for which I wished to live a little longer, that I might see thee become a true Christian before I died. My God has now granted me this, to the full, having permitted me to behold you his servant, also despising earthly felicity. What then do I here ! ”

What reply I made to these things, I do not sufficiently remember. Scarcely five days elapsed before she fell into a fever. One day, during her sickness, she swooned away, and became for a while insensible. We ran to her, when suddenly recovering her senses, and discovering me and my brother Navigius standing at her side, she said, as if by way of inquiry : “ Where was I ? ” Then beholding us astonished with grief, she said : “ Will you bury your mother here ? ” I continued silent, and restrained myself from tears. My brother, however, said something in which he indicated that it would be more pleasant to have her die at home, in her own country, rather than abroad among strangers ; which hearing, she turned upon him an anxious and reproving look, for his folly ; and then, fixing her eyes on me : “ See,” she said, “ what he says ; ” and directly after, addressing us both, she continued : “ Place this body anywhere. Trouble yourselves not at all about it. The only thing I ask of you, is, that you make mention of me at the altar of God, wherever you are.”

This was a subject of rejoicing to me, as she had always been anxious to be buried by the side of her husband, where she had already prepared a place for her body. I heard afterwards, that, while we were at Ostia, she had discoursed with some friends, one day, when I was absent, on contempt of life, and the desirableness of death, when, on their expressing surprise that she did not fear to leave her body so far from her own country, she replied : “ Nothing is far to God. I have no fears that he will be at a loss where to find me, at the resurrection.”

After this affecting scene, Augustine returned to Rome, and staid there until the following year ; and then, proceeding on his way to Africa, he came and tarried a while at Carthage ; after which, he took up his residence at or near Tagaste, where he lived for about three years,—in company with a few select friends who had all things in common,—and devoted his time to fasting, benevolence, prayer, studying the Bible and composition.

The conversion of such a man as Augustine naturally attracted great attention, and elated Christians with ardent hopes.

While in this retreat, he began to be talked of as a suitable person for the ministry. Augustine knew this ; and having occasion, in the year 391, to visit Hippo Regius,* a maritime town or city of Numidia,—the church of which was then destitute of a presbyter, although he knew it not,—he, on his way thither, carefully avoided all vacant parishes ; but was nevertheless, on his arrival at this place, taken, and at the earnest desire of Valerius, its bishop, and his church, made a presbyter.

Valerius was a man of deep piety, but a Greek by birth, and poorly acquainted with the Latin language ; and hence he was inadequate to supply the religious wants of his people. Accordingly he was anxious to obtain an assistant, and had long been praying for one. He viewed Augustine, therefore, as sent to him by God ; welcomed him with all his heart ; and, though it was contrary to the custom then prevalent in Africa, for a presbyter to preach before his bishop, permitted him to preach in his presence.

Augustine was much affected at his ordination ; and wept out of genuine humility and a deep sense of the responsibility of his office. With the express purpose of preparing for his station, by meditation, prayer, and studying the sacred Scriptures, he immediately requested leave of Valerius to retire a while into a monastery. Here he spent much of his time, as he had done before, in connection with a number of select brethren, who, like the first Christians, had all things in common, and whom he formed into a society, from which, as a kind of seminary, there issued eight or ten bishops. In this way he proved the means of greatly extending monasticism in this region ; and gave rise to the Augustinian Friars or Eremites. In 395, at the earnest request of Valerius, he was made colleague with him, in the office of bishop.

In his sermon concerning the *Life and Habits of his Brethren* speaking of his elevation, he says : “ I came to this place for the sake of seeing a friend, whom I was anxious to have with me, in my monastery, inasmuch as the place was supplied with a bishop ; when I was taken and made presbyter ; and this step was the means of introducing me to the office of bishop. I brought nothing with me, but the clothes I wore. I chose no higher station in the house of God, than that of a servant ; when he said to me, ‘ Go up higher.’ ”

* So called to distinguish it from another Hippo. Its present name is Bona.

On being elected bishop, Augustine regarded himself as interdicted from farther retirement, by the voice of God ; and throwing off his monastic habits, he entered at once, and with great zeal, upon his pastoral duties. It would be pleasant to follow him here with some minuteness. My limits, however, prohibit great particularity of detail. A few things must suffice.

He considered the church at Hippo Regius as, in a peculiar sense, his field of labor ; nor did he ever venture to leave it, without urgent necessity. Indeed the feebleness of his health and the wants of his people both conspired to keep him there. Having many churches, however, to oversee, he had duties to perform in other places ; and hence, to the great grief of his people, he was often obliged to leave them. In other dioceses, however, he never preached, except by invitation. Carthage he usually visited once a year ; and sometimes Mauritania. In addition to this, he had councils to attend ; while he constantly maintained controversies with the Manichæans, Pelagians, Donatists and others ; and withal was often called on to give advice, answer questions, rectify abuses, etc.

As a man, he was distinguished for simplicity of dress, temperance in eating and drinking, meekness of demeanor, and patient endurance of insult. Of his meekness, an extract from one of his letters to Jerom,—with whom in 394 he had a dispute, and whom he treated with so much respect, that they afterwards became intimate friends,—will afford a fine illustration. “If I have offended you, my dearest brother, I beseech you, by the gentleness of Christ, to forgive me, lest, by hurting me in return, you be induced to render evil for evil. I see that I am far inferior to you in the knowledge of the sacred Scriptures. What I have I employ in the service of God.”

He was so careful not to speak evil of the absent, that he had the short distich,

Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere vitam,
Hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sibi.

or, as it has been rendered into English,

Far from this table be the worthless guest,
Who wounds another's fame, tho' but in jest,

engraved on his table, to remind his visitors of the impropriety of this habit.*

* See Milner.

He was very diligent in business. None of his time was wasted. He objected even to writing long letters; indeed, he might well do so, from the great number of his correspondents; and, on a certain occasion, he complains that he had been robbed of a day.

From what has been said of his education, it will readily be inferred, that he had little or no knowledge of the oriental languages, and of course was not much acquainted with exegesis. He was, however, a diligent investigator of the Bible. Usually he made it his study for five days in a week. In this employment, whatever were his other defects, he called to his aid an uncommon acquaintance with philosophy, and could exercise much originality of thought. He was ready to acknowledge his ignorance, whenever he came across obscure passages of Scripture, or became involved in difficult subjects; and hence we find him checking himself in some of his most daring flights, and assuming the attitude of a little child.

Contemplated as a Christian, we find him, from the moment of his conversion, as conspicuous for his virtues, as he had previously been for his vices. That his religion degenerated, in many respects, into the austerities and superstitions of his times, is perfectly evident; but he appears to better advantage, in this respect, than many of his contemporaries. Of the externals of religion he seems to have formed a right estimate; and hence, to avoid giving offence, he was in the habit of accommodating himself to the various practices of the different churches with which he associated. I pass now to a consideration of his sermons and his eloquence.

Augustine, in the great mass of his writings which have come down to us, has left us a considerable collection of homilies and discourses. Among them there are many spurious ones; but these have been carefully separated from the genuine, by the Benedictine monks, in their edition of his works. Of the genuine they number 394; of the spurious and doubtful, 317. The former they have divided into four classes. The first class, which is far the largest, contains discourses upon various passages of the Old and New Testaments. The second class comprises 88, upon the great festivals of the year. The third class contains 69, upon the festivals of the saints; and the fourth, 23, upon a variety of subjects, such as the Love of God, Fear, Penance, Contempt of the World, Behavior of the Clergy, Peace and Concord, and the Resurrection of the Dead; to all which should

be added his explanations of the Psalms and the Gospel of John, a great part of which was composed and delivered as sermons.*

These homilies and discourses bear little or no resemblance to sermons of the present day, any farther than the spirit of the gospel, and the flowing effusions of a virtuous heart always remain the same. They resemble the instructions of a preceptor to his pupils, or of a parent to his children, more than set discourses. They were preached at different times, during a space of about forty years. Sometimes they were well studied; often, however, otherwise. Augustine frequently trusted to fortuitous or providential circumstances, for his train of thought. Sometimes the reader, who was often a lad, being careless, did not read the portion of Scripture assigned him; at others, he was purposely left to choose for himself. On such occasions Augustine, of course, spoke *ex tempore*.

Some of them exhibit all the ardency and fiery zeal of youth, and would have been suppressed by their author, in maturer years, had it been practicable. Others bear the marks of age and sober experience; and others again were evidently published in a very imperfect state, merely from the notes of those who heard them.

None of them exhibit that degree of learning or profundity which is to be found in his other writings. The reason is obvious. His object was not to entertain the learned, but to enlighten common people. Accordingly, he frequently introduced vulgar words and phrases into his homilies and sacred addresses; in consequence of which his style is, in many respects, impure.

His manner of writing is generally animated, and sometimes peculiarly so. Whatever he says, even when trifling in itself and insipid, and often combined with a mixture of superstition, is made to exhibit the true coloring of piety. Take the two following instances,† the first of which would altogether evaporate in an English translation.

O dies præclara et pulchra, nesciens vasperum, non habens occasum, ubi non erit hostis impugnans, neque ulla illecebra, sed summa et certa securitas, secunda tranquillitas, et tranquilla jocunditas, jocunda felicitas, felix æternitas, æterna beatitudo, et beata trinitas, et

* Schmid's Kanzelvortrag, Bd. III. p. 150.

† See Fenelon's Dialogues on the Eloquence of the Pulpit, Young Preacher's Manual, edited by Dr. Porter, 2d Ed. p. 104.

trinitatis unitas, et unitatis Deitas, et Deitatis beata visio, quæ est gaudium Domini Dei tui.

As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for thee, O God, the living fountain; when shall I come and appear before thy face! O fountain of life, vein of living waters, when shall I come to the waters of thy sweetness, away from this desert, this pathless, this parched earth, that I may see thy virtue, thy glory, and quench my thirst with the waters of thy mercy. I thirst, O Lord, for the fountains of life; satisfy me. I thirst, O Lord, I thirst for thee, the living God. O Lord, when shall I come and appear before thy face?*

That Augustine was well acquainted with the fundamental principles of eloquence, is evident from his treatise *De Doctrina Christiana*;† in which (whatever may be thought and said of his manner of doing it) he has laid them down with great precision and philosophical correctness. It is certain, also, that he had the reputation of a very eloquent man, among his contemporaries, both in the East and in the West. Paulinus, one of his correspondents, calls him a spiritual magistrate and physician, the renowned teacher of Israel, the salt of the earth, a candle rightly set upon the candlestick of the churches; calls his mouth a conduit of living water, and pronounces his words celestial. Audax calls him the oracle of the law, the restorer of spiritual glory, the dispenser of eternal truth. Nectarius says: "Aroused by your eloquence, Marcus Tullius, the consul himself, seems to stand before me." Indeed, we must admit Augustine to have possessed something of genuine oratory, if we look at the manner in which his sermons were received, and the effects which they often produced.

He was greatly admired by the Africans, as a preacher. They took down his sermons, in many cases as they were delivered; and often committed them to memory. All classes of people flocked to hear him, and his opponents themselves were frequently disarmed upon the spot, and compelled to yield up to the influence of the truth, as he uttered it. We have two instances in particular, as related by himself, in which the effect produced by his eloquence was very remarkable.

As to the first instance,‡ it seems that there was a custom prevalent among the people of Cæsarea in Mauritania, which

* Aug. Solit. Cap. XXXV.

† Comp. Bibl. Rep. 1st Series, Vol. III. p. 569.

‡ Comp. Bibl. Rep. 1st Series, Vol. III. p. 605.

had been carried to a monstrous pitch of cruelty. At a particular season of the year, citizens, neighbors, brothers, parents and children, having formed themselves into a kind of battalion divided into two parties, engaged together for some days in battle with stones, each one killing whom he could. Augustine's object was to draw off the people from a spectacle in which they took very great delight. He has not given us his discourse on this occasion. He tells us, however, that he availed himself, as far as he was able, of the grand in eloquence, nor without some success. After he had addressed the people for some time, they spake aloud, and applauded him. He was too well acquainted, however, with the human heart, to suppose that he had effected any thing substantial, so long as they amused themselves with giving him applause. He therefore proceeded until he perceived them melting into tears; and then he concluded that a change had, in reality, taken place in their views and feelings, and was induced to believe that that horrid custom which had long been handed down from father to son, and had become wrought into the very natures of the people, would be abolished. "Nor was I disappointed," he adds; "for it is now eight years since; and no attempt has as yet been made to renew it;" and in conclusion he remarks: "I could adduce many other instances to show that deep feeling does not burst forth in clamor (for he was speaking of the effect of the grand in eloquence), but exhibits itself by sighs, tears, and a radical change of heart and life."*

As to the second instance, it seems that the African church had long been accustomed to celebrate the birth-days of certain saints, and, in the end, had so perverted them, that they were made occasions of feasting and drunkenness. These celebrations the African Christians were in the habit of conducting in their houses of public worship. Augustine's design was to persuade his people to abolish these celebrations altogether. He gives the following account of the matter, in a letter to his friend Alypius, bishop of Tagaste.†

We must not fail to inform your charity of what was done, that with us you may give thanks to God, for the favor received, in behalf of which, your prayers were united with ours. Soon after your

* "*Admiratio, cum maxima est,*" says Ferrarius, *De Ritu, etc.*, c. xxiv., "*silentium gignit; cum mediocris, verba parere et laudes in audientium ore.*"

† *Augustini Opp.*, Tom. II. p. 37, sq.

departure, it was announced, that the men were tumultuous, and said they could not suffer that feast to be abolished, from which, by calling it *Lætitia*, they vainly attempt, as you were informed when present, to remove the idea of drunkenness. By the secret counsel of Almighty God, it happened very opportunely for us, that on Wednesday that portion of the gospel was to be treated of in course which says: "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine." I spake, therefore, concerning dogs and swine in such a way, that those who, by their wilful barking, opposed the precepts of God, and gave themselves up to the sordid pleasures of sense, might be compelled to blush; and concluded so that they might see how wicked it was for them to do that, in the name of religion, within the walls of the sanctuary, which if they should habitually practise at home, must exclude them from that which is holy, and from the pearls of the church.

Although this was well received, yet as few had convened, it was not sufficient for so great a matter. Indeed on the divulging abroad of the discourse, by those who had heard it, according to the extent of their wishes and ability, it found many opposers. When, afterwards, Lent had arrived, and a great multitude were assembled together at the hour of lecture, that portion of the gospel was read, where our Lord speaks of expelling the venders of animals from the temple, and of overturning the tables of the money-changers, and says, that "his Father's house, a house of prayer, has been converted into a den of thieves."

Having then fixed their attention, by proposing an inquiry concerning drunkenness, I myself also repeated the same passage, and added an argumentation, in which I endeavored to show how much more earnestly and vehemently our Lord would have expelled drunken feasts, which are everywhere base, from that temple whence he expelled customary traffick, since the things exposed for sale there were at that time necessary for legal sacrifices; and asked them by whom they supposed the temple would be made the most to resemble a den of thieves, by those who sold such things as were necessary, or by those who were in the habit of drinking to excess.

As I had portions of Scripture prepared ready for the occasion, I then added, that the Jews, who hitherto had been a carnal people, in that temple where neither the body nor the blood of Christ had as yet been presented, had never celebrated drunken, nor even sober feasts; nor do we learn from history that any of them were ever publicly drunk as an act of religious worship, except on an occasion in which, having made an idol, they honored it with festivals. Having said this, I took the book, and read the whole passage.* I also added, with as much sorrow as I was able, that, since the apostle, in order to distinguish Christians from the hardened Jews, says that his "epistle is not written in tables of stone, but in fleshly tables of the heart," as Moses the servant of God, on account of the conduct of the leaders of the people, brake the two tables of stone, ought we not much more to break our hearts, when, living as we do under the New Testament, we are willing solemnly

* Exodus, 32 : 6 sq.

to exhibit those things in the celebration of days instituted in commemoration of saints, which those who lived under the Old Testament, in like manner, exhibited in an idolatrous celebration !

Having then returned the book of Exodus, I enlarged upon the crime of drunkenness, as far as time would permit, and took up the apostle Paul and showed among what crimes it should be ranked,—reading the passage: “If any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one do not even eat,”*—and admonishing them, with sighs and groans, of the danger we are in, from feasting with drunkards, even at home. I also alluded to that passage which follows soon after: “Be not deceived ; neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And such were some of you. But ye are washed, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God ;”† which having read, I observed that they ought to consider, how it was possible for them, as those who had been faithful, to hear the words, “But ye are washed,” they having hitherto allowed to remain in their hearts, that is, in the interior temple of God, that very filthiness of concupiscence, against which the kingdom of heaven is closed.

Thence I proceeded to those words: “When ye come together therefore into one place, this is not to eat the Lord’s supper ; for in eating, every one taketh before other his own supper ; and one is hungry, and another is drunken. What ! have ye not houses to eat and drink in ? or despise ye the church of God ?” Having read this passage, I carefully laid it open, and showed how that not even sober and honorable feasts should be celebrated in the church of God, seeing the apostle does not say, “Have ye not houses to be drunken in,” as if only drunkenness in the church were a thing unlawful ; but “Have ye not houses to eat and drink in,” this being an act which may be done with propriety and honesty, only not in the church of God, by those who have houses in which they can refresh themselves, whenever necessary. We, however, have come upon such corrupt times and licentious morals, that it is impossible for us to satisfy ourselves with mere temperate feasting, but we must also have a domestic kingdom of drunkenness.

I also repeated the portion of the gospel which I had handled the day before, where it is said of false prophets: “By their fruits ye shall know them.”‡ I then reminded them that by *fruits*, in this place, are meant works ; and asked them, with what fruits drunkenness would be classed ; and read that passage, addressed to the Galatians : “Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these ; adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, mur-

* 1 Cor. 5: 11.

† 1 Cor. 6: 9 sq.

‡ 1 Cor. 11: 20 sq.

ders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like ; of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.”*

After having read these words, I asked them, how they supposed it to be possible for us, as Christians, (who, according to the command of their Lord, are to be discovered by their fruits,) to be recognized from the fruit of drunkenness. Moreover, I also read what follows: “But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance ;* and urged them to consider how shameful, how much to be lamented it was, that they should not only live upon these fruits of the flesh in private ; but that they should also desire to bring disgrace upon the church itself ; and, if power were given, would go so far as to fill the whole sacred temple, however large, with crowds of rioters and drunkards ; while, on the other hand, they refused to bring God the gifts of spiritual fruits, notwithstanding they were invited to do so, both by the authority of the sacred Scriptures and by our own groans, and thus appropriately to celebrate the festivals of the saints.

These things having been done, I returned the book ; and, having nothing prepared for the occasion, I laid before them, according to my ability, the pressure of the occasion, and the strength with which the Lord graciously deigned to supply me, the common danger,—theirs, who had been intrusted to our charge, and ours, who were soon to give an account respecting them, to the Prince of shepherds ; and entreated them by his humility and the wonderful indignities which he suffered, in that he was scourged, spit upon, struck with the palms of the hand, and crowned with thorns, by his cross and his blood, that if they had offended him in any thing, they would even pity us, and reflect upon the ineffable love to me of the venerable Valerius, who, on their account, had not hesitated to impose upon me the dangerous task of handling the words of truth ; and who had often told them that his prayers for my coming had been answered, in which answer he rejoiced, surely not because we were to die a common death, or to become the witnesses of theirs, but because that with them, we were to strive after eternal life.

Finally, I also told them I was certain, and indeed to this effect felt a perfect confidence in him who cannot lie, who, through the mouth of his prophets, promised respecting our Lord Jesus Christ, saying : “If his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments ; if they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments, then will I visit their transgressions with the rod, and their iniquities with stripes ;”† that, if they should condemn the great things which had been read and spoken to them, God would visit them with the rod and with stripes, and not permit them to be condemned with this world.

While I addressed them and made my complaints, God, our De-

* Gal. 5: 19-21 sq.

† Ps. 89: 30 sq.

fender and Guide, seemed to impart to me courage and strength, according to the magnitude of the danger and the enterprise. I did not move their tears by mine; but when I had ended speaking, I confess, that, anticipated by their weeping, I was unable to abstain. Having then wept together for a while, with a strong expectation of their amendment, I brought my address to a close.

On the following day,—the day on which they were accustomed to prepare themselves for eating and surfeiting,—I was informed, that some, even of those who had been present at my address on the day before, had not yet ceased to murmur; and so powerful was the influence of this wicked custom over them, that they were constantly saying: “Why now? Those who lived before us, without prohibiting these things, were certainly Christians.” On hearing of this I felt altogether at a loss what more powerful devices to employ for moving them. I proposed, however, if they should think of persevering, after having read that passage, ‘The watchman is absolved if he have given timely warning of the danger, even though the persons warned refuse to take heed,’* to shake out my robes and depart.

Then indeed the Lord showed that he does not forsake us; but that, on the other hand, he would encourage us, whatever our circumstances, to anticipate his assistance; for, before the time had arrived for us to ascend into the pulpit, those very persons entered, of whose complaints I had heard concerning my opposition to their ancient custom, whom I received with kindness, and with a few words brought over to sane views; and when the time for discoursing had arrived, omitting the portion of Scripture which I had selected,—as now it seemed to be uncalled for,—I observed concerning the affair itself, that, in opposition to those who say: “Why now?” we could bring nothing more comprehensive or more to the purpose, than the reply: “Even now.”

Lest our ancestors, however, of preceding generations, who had either indulged the ignorant multitude in such plain and obvious crimes, or else had not dared to lay prohibitory injunctions upon them, in this respect, should seem to have, in some measure, been treated with contumely, I went on to explain to the assembly, by what necessity these things seem to have first originated in the church. After the endurance of many and vehement persecutions,—peace being at length established among them,—crowds of Gentiles, desirous of coming under the Christian name, were prevented solely by the consideration that they had been accustomed to spend many days with their idols, in excessive feasting and drunkenness, and could not easily restrain themselves from these very ancient as well as these most pernicious pleasures. It was deemed well, by our fathers, in the mean time, to spare, in part, this infirmity; and that instead of those festivities which they had left behind, they should celebrate others, not with similar sacrilege indeed, but yet with similar luxury, in honor of the martyrs. Being, in this case, bound together by the name of Christ, and brought under the yoke of his authority, they would be taught those salutary precepts of sobriety, which, under

* Ez. 33: 9.

such circumstances, out of honor and reverence for their instructor, they would be unable to withstand.* The time, however, has now arrived in which those who dare not deny themselves to be Christians, should begin to live according to the will of Christ; and those things, which were conceded, in order that they might become Christians, should, since they have become such, be utterly repudiated.

I then gave them an exhortation, telling them that we should imitate those transmarine churches in which these errors had, in part, never been received; and in part, by means of good rectors, in connection with obedient people, had been corrected; and as examples of daily drunkenness were adduced from the church of the blessed apostle Peter, I told them, in the first place, that we had heard that this custom had often been prohibited there; but that, as the place is remote from the observation and inspection of the bishop; and, as in so large a city the number of those devoted to sensual pleasures is very great, strangers in particular, who first visit it from time to time, retaining the custom with a violence proportioned to their ignorance, this outrageous pest had, as yet, not been stayed and assuaged; but that, however, if we would honor the apostle Peter, we must listen to his precepts, and pay more earnest heed to his epistle in which his will stands recorded, than we do to his church, in which there is nothing of it to be discovered.

I immediately took the book and repeated that passage in which he says: "Forasmuch then as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind; for he that hath suffered in the flesh hath ceased from sin; that he should no longer live the rest of his time in the flesh to the lusts of men, but to the will of God. For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries."†

These things having been done,—finding all those present unanimously joining in the good resolution to treat this wicked custom with contempt,—I felt anxious to have them present at the sacred lections and psalms, at twelve o'clock, that thus they might please to celebrate that day with more than ordinary integrity and propriety of conduct, knowing that it could readily be ascertained with all certainty, from the number of those convening, who would act under the influence of reason, and who would give himself up to his appetite. Here every thing having been read, my discourse was terminated.

In the afternoon, however, a greater number were present than there were in the forenoon, passing the time,—even to the hour for us

* It would seem that many of these changes and accommodations were not made with as great caution, nor with as good motives; it being clear to most unprejudiced persons, that many things in Catholicism are nothing more nor less than baptized heathenism, even to some of the statues usually exhibited, as those of the Virgin Mary. See, in particular, Bishop Middleton's *Popery Unmasked*; a work which (or at least something like it), accompanied with notes, would bear to be republished, in this our day.

† 1 Pet. 4: 1 sq.

to go forth with the bishop,—alternately in the exercises of reading and psalmody; and two psalms were read, when we went forth. Then the old man desired me to say something to them, which being unwilling to do, as I was anxious to have this dangerous day brought to a close, he laid his commands upon me to this effect. Accordingly I made them a short address, in which I gave thanks to God; and as we heard that the usual feasts were celebrated in the church of the heretics, and that even at the time in which such things were transacting among us, they were (as on former occasions) engaged in their cups, I observed, that the beauty of the day is heightened on being compared with the night; and that white appears more agreeable when contrasted with black; and that, in like manner, our union in this spiritual celebration would perhaps have been less pleasant if not brought into comparison with the carnal ingurgitation of the opposite party; and I exhorted them, if they had tasted of the kindness of the Lord, to give evidence thereof, by earnestly desiring to participate in such feasts,—assuring them at the same time, that those who pursue that which will ultimately be destroyed, as of prime importance, have great occasion for fear; since every one becomes a companion of the object of his worship; and the apostle Paul has derided such persons, when he says, “whose God is their belly;”* as the same apostle has also said in another place, “meats for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God shall destroy both it and them;”† from all which it follows, that we ought sedulously to endeavor after the attainment of that which cannot be cast out into the draught; but which, removed as far as possible from carnal affection, can be retained by the sanctification of the spirit. And when, in support of the same sentiment, those things had been spoken, so far as the time would permit, which the Lord deigned to suggest, the usual daily evening services were performed, and we withdrew in company of the bishop, while the brethren engaged in singing a hymn, not a few of both sexes remaining behind engaged in psalmody, even to the twilight of the day.

From the preceding extracts and remarks, the reader, I trust, will be able to obtain some correct conception of Augustine’s preaching and oratory. That he had many of the native qualities of a good speaker, must certainly be admitted; nor is there any room to doubt that he attracted great crowds, and often produced uncommon effects.

With all these and other facts before us, however, respecting Augustine as a sacred orator, it may be questioned, with Du Pin, whether his sermons would attract many hearers at the present day; and Schmid even affirms that they have done as much injury as good. “He is certainly,” says this latter critic, “in no respect to be considered as a pattern for a sacred orator.

* Phil. 3: 19.

† 1 Cor. 6: 13. I follow the English here, as elsewhere, not regarding the deviation of the Vulgate worth notice.

Few religious discourses are to be found which contain so many imperfections. There is no want in them, indeed, of subtleties and playful wit. Extremely deficient, however, are they in respect to thoroughness of investigation, appropriateness of illustration, a useful treatment of subjects, a correct interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and an easy and agreeable style and manner of address."

In treating on dogmatical topics, the author runs out into all their learned distinctions and definitions, without giving them any practical application; while, at the same time, the proofs he employs, are very artificial; and the illustrations which he introduces are exceedingly inappropriate. He, on all occasions, stands forth as a violent opposer of the heretics, especially of the Arians, the Manichæans, the Pelagians, and the Donatists. Of course these discourses were nothing more nor less than very dry and barren treatises.

His moral discourses are of a much better character. They are not free, indeed, from the faults and the corrupt taste of the age; nor are they carried out in a manner sufficiently regular, substantial and convincing. At the same time they exhibit much prolixity; and abound in playful wit. In the recommendation of single virtues, however, they are by no means destitute of good moral argumentation and a proper array of motives.

His biblical discourses are the most imperfect. They are full of subtle, allegorical and typical representations; they abound in play upon words; and contain abstruse questions, with learned answers. In his discourses on the Psalms, he makes an allegorical application of every thing to the New Testament. In his discourses on John, on the other hand, he everywhere presents us with allusions to the affairs of the Old Testament. The art of huddling together a multitude of quotations from Scripture, by way of proof, without any appropriate selection whatever, is peculiarly his own.

In his discourses on the Saints, we meet with many fabulous and superstitious narrations; and in the 71st, quite a long and full discussion of the doctrine of a purgatory.

The style is very dry,—destitute, indeed, of all charms, being made up solely of short and broken sallies, or of long, intricate and very obscure periods; or else of short questions and answers, arranged in the manner of a dialogue. In particular, the author is very prolix, spending much time in turning a thought over and over by the aid of quibbles, so that he never descends

to the bottom of any thing he says. Sometimes he tries to catch the attention of his hearers by a few pertinent remarks; but in general he seems altogether indifferent in this respect.

He is, take one discourse with another, without an introduction; and often without a formal conclusion. Sometimes, however, he closes with a doxology, and sometimes with a prayer, which begins: "Conversi ad Dominum." They are, for the most part, very short. Some few of them, on the other hand, are remarkably long.

To the above critique, drawn chiefly from Schmid,* it may be added that his style, in many respects, resembles that of the facetious Thomas Fuller, of the 17th century; or nearer still, that of our own Cotton Mather. Sometimes it exhibits fullness of thought. In general, however, it is rendered full by alliteration or verbal play; and if we find any thought in him that is splendid,—which is often the case, for he was unquestionably a thinker and a man of genius,—it must be hewn out of a mass of rocks, or cleared of a vast amount of useless rubbish, and abundantly trimmed and pruned, before it can be employed. His piety seems everywhere unquestionable. His talents were probably such as would have conformed him to the age in which he might live, and thus have always rendered him, in many respects, an interesting and attractive preacher.†

In concluding this article, I will only add, that Augustine died in troublesome times; but his death was that of a Christian. Hippo, which was the strongest fortress in Africa, had become a refuge for various persons, and was undergoing a siege of the Vandals, in the year 430; when, in about the third month of the siege, Augustine was seized with a fever, which he doubted not, from the very first, would prove fatal. He had often looked forward to death in his meditations; and he found himself peaceful and happy as it drew nearer. Indeed, "he was not able to contain within his breast the desires of his soul, in which he sighed after the glorious day of eternity. He calmly resigned his spirit into the hands of God, from whom he had received it, on the 28th of Aug. 430, after having lived 76 years, and spent almost 40 of them in the labors of the ministry."

* Anleitung, u. s. w. Th. III. p. 149 sq.

† Compare what Erasmus says of him, as quoted in the *Biblical Repos.* 1st series, Vol. III. p. 570.

ARTICLE VI.

ELEMENTS OF LITERARY TASTE :—THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN
PROSE AND POETRY.*

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ONE of the first inquiries to be made, in relation to a book, is, To what class does it belong ? Is it Prose, or Poetry ? Is it Philosophy, or History, or Fiction ? On the answer given to these questions depend, in important points, the standard by which the work is to be judged, and the feelings with which it should be read. The different kinds of composition have each its appropriate objects, and are executed each on its peculiar principles. Each has much that is common to the rest, and that lays the foundation for the common name of *Literature*. But, under this common name, works of extremely dissimilar structure and spirit are included ; human thought and feeling are embodied in a common language, and yet in forms as unlike as those of material nature, and with aspects as varying as the colors of the sky.

* The reader should be apprised that this article constitutes a chapter in a work prepared by Professor Hadduck, and soon to be published, entitled *Æsthetics, or the Elements of Literary Taste*. It is therefore, though complete in itself, but part of a more general discussion. This will account for the occasional references which it contains to associated topics elsewhere considered. The scope and design of the work will be more fully stated under our head of "Literary Intelligence," where we shall announce its proposed publication. In the mean time we have obtained the author's permission to enrich our pages with this interesting chapter. It may be regarded as at once a specimen and an earnest of the character of the entire work. As such we commend it to the attention of our readers, and especially to the officers of colleges and to other teachers, who have felt the want of a Text-book, on this subject, of an elevated character and adapted to the demands of taste and criticism in our educated circles.—ED.

The mathematician, who assured Mr. Addison, that the greatest pleasure he took in reading Virgil was in examining Æneas's voyage by the map, and the scientific gentleman, who, being asked his opinion of an epic poem which he had just read, gravely replied, "What does it prove?" appear ridiculous, not because the one was delighted with geography, and the other with demonstration; but because they could find delight in nothing else, and sought geography and demonstration in works which did not profess to teach them. They overlooked the distinctions of literary composition. The mistake of the one was that of the child, who gazes with admiration on the shining case and mysterious motions of a watch, without the least idea of the beautiful mechanism which distinguishes and chronicles the fugitive moments; that of the other, the error of the blind man, who complained of spectacles, that they did not enable him to see.

The reader who takes the novels of Scott, or the dramas of Shakspeare, or Pilgrim's Progress, for matters of fact, must have strange notions of this world. If the same course of thought, the same severity of method, the same forms of argument, and the same style of illustration and expression were demanded of the poet or the historian, which we exact of the mathematician and the philosopher, what would become of their charming eloquence? Why, the forms of life, and health, and beauty, which now engage our hearts and win our admiration in these works of genius, would be all withered to skeletons. If, on the other hand, the freedom, the variety, the grace, the imagination, which are characteristic of fine writing, were required of the authors of exact science, how impossible it would be for them to maintain that precision of thought, that logical order, and that uniform, unambiguous expression, which are so essential in the conduct of arguments on abstract and difficult subjects—subjects that demand minute and undistracted attention, and, in order to be justly apprehended, must be separated, as much as possible, from every thing foreign or accidental to them.

No; it must not be, that every thing in literature shall be measured by the same standard, and looked upon with one common feeling. Some things are to be weighed in a balance; some to be meted out in a bushel; some to be calculated by lines and angles; and, peradventure, some will be found of such airy consistence, such gossamer texture, as to refuse to be estimated by any of these gross measures, and to submit only to the ordeal of fancy.

It is a narrow criticism which would restrict literature to one walk, one form, one costume. She is as boundless in her range, as various in her aspect, as free in her attire, as human thought itself, of which, in its ever-multiplying varieties, she is the record, the embodied image. Like the life she represents, she has her infancy, her youth, her manhood and her age. Like nature, with which she cherishes communion, and whose changeful features she embalms, she has revolving seasons of her own—a budding spring, a fervid summer, a “sear and yellow” autumn, and a drowsy winter. She has hours of earnest labor, and of calm repose—pastimes, day-dreams, phantasies. She is not always toiling at the oar, nor delving in the mine, nor nerved for solemn debate, nor clad in armor; but, sometimes, “sporting with the Naiads in the shade, or playing with the tangles of Neæra’s hair.” In these various occupations how impossible it is to regard her with the same feeling and to try her by a single rule. It would be like looking at the councils of the senate chamber and the debates of a public school, at the grave enterprises of life and the sports of the village playground, at the realities of the battle-field and the manœuvres of a militia muster, with the same eye and the same allowance.

The sense of the beautiful is as really part of our nature as the sense of the true, or of the right; and the forms and shades and groups of thought, that are fitted to produce the emotion of beauty in us, are as diversified as the sights or sounds which supply the ever-changing pleasures of the eye and the ear. It is the office of true criticism to enable us to appreciate these varieties of literary production, and to heighten the enjoyment which we derive from them. To attain the enviable sensibility which apprehends the more delicate lines and tints of the beautiful in composition, something more, it is true, is necessary than the best criticism can confer—more than any skill can teach. The wisest discipline would fail of this end, unless assisted and rendered efficacious by the insensible influence of habitual familiarity with the models of taste. It would seem that the sense of beauty, of which we are made capable by nature, is developed in the mind by exercise, and though, like other powers, it may be conferred on men in different degrees, is always nourished and matured by its appropriate aliment—THE BEAUTIFUL. It is strengthened by being indulged. It is called out by being appealed to. And the aid which theory and criticism afford in its cultivation, is merely to point out and supply appropriate objects—the natural *occasions* for its exercise.

This office, however, though certainly humble, in comparison with the production of the great works whose merit it is the business of criticism to determine, is, nevertheless, as important as it is delicate. Few minds are qualified to discern, unaided, the less obvious beauties of composition, or even to find the *position* from which they are best surveyed. To furnish assistance in doing this is the object of all critical rules. To develop the principles of our nature, on which the various excellences of composition depend, and according to which the models of good writing are executed, is the proper business of the philosophy or theory of literary composition.

The natural method of study, in this part of education, would therefore seem to be, to proceed from the consideration of the theory of taste, and its common relation to all the forms of beauty, in nature, art, or literature, to the general idea of literature—subjects already treated in the foregoing pages—and thence to the particular examination of this department of genius, under the familiar divisions to which we are accustomed in rhetorical treatises. This will, accordingly, be the object of the present and of several of the succeeding chapters.

That these divisions are perfect need not be assumed. It is the necessary consequence of the progress of literature, that its several departments should be more and more separated from each other, and that new departments should now and then be formed. History and poetry and theology seem to have been all united in the infancy of composition; and, within a short period, we have seen the novel distinguished from the romance, and the historical novel from others of the same family; and, still more recently, the satirical novel, in which contemporary manners are exposed to public censure, raised to singular popularity by the talent of a living writer. Other forms of literary production may be introduced; and those now familiar to us may be yet further modified. It is, however, sufficient for the purposes of the present work, to distinguish the principal branches of composition as now well understood, and to point out the characteristic features of each, the rules to which they are respectively subject, and the circumstances to be considered, in determining their merits, and in deriving improvement or enjoyment from them.

The most general distinction of literary productions is that of PROSE and POETRY. What is Prose? And what is Poetry?

Wherein are they distinguished? And what are those common traits, which belong to them as, equally, branches of literature?

It will assist us in replying to these questions to begin by considering, in what they are *not* distinguished.

Prose and poetry are, then, not distinguished by their *subjects*. One subject may be more appropriate to poetry, another, to prose. But nearly all subjects admit of being treated in either. Poetry, we are told, was, originally, the only vehicle of formal instruction. "Minos and Thales," says Dr. Blair, "sung to the lyre, the laws which they composed, and till the age immediately preceding that of Herodotus, history had appeared in no other form than that of poetical tales." Homer was the first historian, and Hesiod the first theologian of Greece. The longest poem of Horace, the Art of Poetry, is a carefully written treatise on an important branch of rhetoric. The Georgics, considered the most finished of the works of Virgil, is an ample discussion of the subject of agriculture, as it was understood in his time. Dr. Armstrong wrote a poem on the Art of Preserving Health, in which a system of dietetics and exercise is laid down with the didactic minuteness of a physician. Green wrote a poem on the Spleen, in which the art of cheerfulness is treated with similar particularity. Pope wrote, in poetry, the Art of Criticism, and a philosophical Essay on Man, and Dr. Aken-side, a theory of taste, in his Pleasures of the Imagination, from which Dr. Thomas Brown has quoted no small part in illustration of his philosophical doctrines. In short, every thing but the pure mathematics has, I believe, been sung; and even one of the propositions of Euclid has been versified by Coleridge; the multiplication table had been set to music before.

Poetry is not distinguished from prose by the *fictitious* character of the one and the reality of the other. Fact and fiction belong to the domain of each. The Iliad of Homer is, probably, founded on real events in the history of his country. And, even if such an event as the siege of Troy never happened, and every historical incident, which the poet has connected with it, were absolutely fictitious, still what a mass of fact would remain in the Iliad; what a body of information might be gathered from it in relation to the manners, the institutions, the pursuits, the character of the poet's times; what details of life and feeling and thought, which we know must have been taken from the actual state of things in the heroic ages of Greece. The geography, the scenery, the climate of her sunny islands and

sparkling waters, are delineated with surprising accuracy by her blind bard. The leading incidents and characters in the historical plays of Shakspeare are real. The assassination of Cæsar and the civil wars that followed, are not essentially misrepresented by the poet. Brutus and Cassius, Anthony and Cleopatra are not feigned by him. King John and King Richard, the Henrys and the Edwards, and the touching or terrible scenes in which they figure in the wonderful dramas of this poet-historian, had, in all important respects, a literal existence.

Indeed, even poetry rarely creates any thing wholly fictitious ; though it is true, that fiction is her highest and most characteristic vocation. If, on the one hand, creation is the peculiar prerogative of genius, and exhibits in their boldest and grandest features the wonderful powers of our nature, it is on the other hand even humiliating to think, how little after all it is permitted to the most original minds to create. And it is worthy of observation that history, and eloquence, and philosophy admit of a species of fiction. The severest annalist *selects* from the series of incidents which make up the life he records ; and, though he may never distort, or essentially color, events or characters, it is hardly possible that the historian, or the orator, should present us with a perfect transcript of reality. The most practical and impartial eye sees not even the present precisely as it is, much less the remote and the past. And it is only when we think how little we know of the real events in the midst of which we live, and some of which we originate, or modify, that we understand the extreme delicacy and intrinsic difficulty of representing human life in history. He is a fortunate statesman, who apprehends the movements of his own time, entirely ; the sagacity is rare, which can trace a single important event to its true causes and its actual effects. What resources must then be necessary to determine the sequence, which connects the complicated tissue of social life, in all its Protean forms, as they are successively unfolded on the theatre of national or general history. The facts of history, ascertained beyond dispute, are numerous and multiform, and the lessons they teach often infallible and inestimable. Human experience has been sufficiently extended and varied, and faithfully enough recorded, to have profited mankind far more than it has done. But it is idle to look for absolute reality and truth unmixed with theory or fancy, in the most veritable narrative. Were there no reason in the nature of the subject itself, there is enough in the essential im-

perfection of our mental vision ; for the intellectual, like the external eye, robes its objects, sometimes, in colors of its own. "The eyes of a man in the jaundice," says Watts, "make yellow observations on every thing ; and the soul tinctured with any passion, diffuses a false color over the appearance of things." Happy is the historian whose "eye is single."

In oratory we are so accustomed to exaggeration and perversion of facts, that we instinctively put ourselves on our guard against illusion. And even in philosophy, theory, hypothesis, speculation, words in their primitive meaning implying nothing bad, have come to signify something unreal and fanciful ; a change of use which can be accounted for only from the fact, that so much which bears the name of philosophy has proved untrue. There is, however, this difference between fiction in history, eloquence and philosophy, and fiction in poetry, that in the former case it is disavowed, in the latter it is professed. The historian, the orator, and the philosopher propose truth ; we demand truth of them, we are offended if fiction is intentionally substituted for it ; and the author loses in our confidence and esteem, in proportion as he fails for any cause to exhibit it. The poet not only proposes fiction ; he is ambitious of it ; he is by profession, as his name implies, a *maker* ; to create is his loftiest aim ; originality his highest praise.

The NOVELIST shares the world of fiction almost equally with the poet. As great liberty of invention is allowed him, and he, quite as frequently, weaves his narrative and his characters out of his own fancy. The more elevated creations of the novelist are, in this respect, essentially poetical, though in general the fictitious in prose is a nearer approximation to fact than poetry exhibits. To the difference in their language corresponds, in some degree, the difference in the tone and spirit of their creations. Those of the poet are more select and dignified ; those of the novelist, more ordinary and vulgar. If truth, in the representation of human nature, imply *completeness* and *justness* of view, it must be admitted that the poet is even less fictitious than the novelist. For the aspects of our nature dwelt upon by the latter are more confined and unimportant. A great part of the stirring interest of the common novel arises from the unprofitable unfolding of passions, which, if human, are not good to be felt or witnessed, and on occasions such as never occur. The influence of these works on the reader is very like that of spending one's time in gazing at public spectacles and feats of agility and conflicts of passion ;

or lounging in places of concourse, in courts of law, at houses of gaming, and race courses. We enjoy the excitement, and we want it again. Poetry aims higher, and sustains herself in more wholesome and more just ideas of man. There are exceptions, but, considered as a department of literature, its sentiments are purer and nobler, its philosophy is deeper, and its examples more unexceptionable. Indeed, there seems to be something in the style of mind, which distinguishes the higher order of poets, that fits them to sympathize with moral greatness and religious truth. And we rise from the perusal of their works with profounder conceptions of ourselves and a deeper feeling of the great objects and interests of life. The soul is raised to a point of more comprehensive observation, and inspired with more becoming sentiments. As works of art, too, the great productions of poetry are of a higher character; they have a more perfect unity and sounder philosophy; they are executed in a more perfect style; and they seem, throughout, to imply a nobler order of thought and a more solicitous and careful study and discipline in the author. This may be partly owing to the fact that the great models, by which our taste has been cultivated, are chiefly poetical. The art of composition was carried to its perfection, by the classical writers, and was especially so in the illustrious poems, which they have left us, and on which our rhetorical rules have been mainly founded. The standard of excellency in poetry is therefore higher. It is observable, also, that poetry is addressed to a smaller number of readers; it is appreciated by comparatively few; and it appears in its more elevated forms to have been reserved as the medium of communion for the thoughtful and imaginative, as the expression of those finer feelings and profounder conceptions which constitute the inward life of regulated and chastened genius. The very language of prose brings the spirit almost instinctively down to fellowship with the ordinary world of men, and interests us again in the grosser elements and associations of life. But however the fact be accounted for, it cannot be denied that fiction in poetry *is* of a higher character and a more improving influence upon the taste and the heart, than fiction in prose. Except Bunyan, and possibly Scott, there is no Milton, no Shakspeare, no Thomson, no Young, no Cowper, no Wordsworth, among the English authors of prose fiction, though our poets would hardly fill an alcove in the library of our works of fiction. Such is the differ-

ence of poetic and prose fiction. Still, the mere fact that poetry is fictitious, does not distinguish it from prose.

Nor is it thus distinguished from prose by its *ideal representations of life*—by “accommodating the shows of things in this respect to the desires of the mind,” as Lord Bacon has described it. This sort of fiction, for it is properly fiction, which consists in representing not what is, but what we might wish, and which undoubtedly is a natural and useful exercise of the imagination, is not confined to poets. The politician creates Utopian states, and the orator, while he laments the golden age of ancestral happiness, paints the future in the bright colors of his own glowing hopes. On the other hand, poetry sometimes descends to the description of life as it is. The muse of Crabb is fond of the homely incident, and every day occurrences of the ordinary world. Cowper and Wordsworth afford examples of the same kind.

Poetry and prose are not essentially discriminated by their *objects*. In both, either the understanding or the feelings may be addressed. In both, we reason or inform, instruct or please. In both, we awaken the imagination or arouse the passions.

What writer of prose reasons more conclusively than Young on the immortality of the soul? Who is more instructive than Akenside in the Pleasures of the Imagination, or Cowper in the Task? What poet, on the other hand, is more evidently pleasing than Irving in the Sketch Book, or Addison in the Spectator, or Johnson in Rasselas, or Fouqué in Undine?

Again, poetry is not distinguished from prose by the *figures* or the *words* which it uses. There is scarcely a simile, or a metaphor, employed by the poet, which would be absolutely inadmissible in eloquence, or prose fiction. At least, the difference, in this respect, is so inconsiderable as to go but very little way in discriminating these great departments of letters. The real language of life is sometimes stronger and bolder than poetry admits of. The conceptions we form of passion fall often below reality. Probably, no audience would endure on the stage, the expressions of emotion which we occasionally hear uttered by the living subjects of grief or despair. Eloquence, the language of real life, assumes, therefore, in its most impassioned strains, a diction more vivid and glowing than poetry itself.

Words, for the most part, are common to poetry and prose.

The number of words in our language, utterly excluded from either, is extremely small. In general, those most fit for the idea in the one, are the very same which would be most suitable in the other.

Finally, it cannot even be said that *metre* itself is altogether peculiar to poetry. The ancient critics undertook to point out the measure of prose; and modern rhetoricians speak of the *numerous* prose of Cicero, the *harmonious* flow of Burke, the *measured* pomp of Johnson's period. There is as marked a difference in what may be called the music of prose composition, between McPherson's Ossian, or Fenelon's Telemachus, and John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, or Bishop Butler's Analogy, as there is between the most melodious prose and the loosest verse. It is not always easy to determine, where verse ends and prose begins.

We seem then to have arrived at the conclusion, that there is, in truth, no essential difference between poetry and prose; and that what have been taken to be two distinct styles of composition, so different, that a child might distinguish them, are much the same thing! No, by no means. They are as unlike as singing and speaking; as unlike as dancing and walking. A man may sing or speak on the same subject; may utter fact or fiction; may represent real life, or life refined and ideal; may instruct or please; may in both cases use, for the most part, the same figures and the same words. Yet, who does not see the difference between singing and speaking? Who ever mistakes the one for the other, even though one may sometimes sing as if he were speaking, or speak as if he were singing?

In dancing the same instruments of locomotion are used, the same change of place may be produced, as in walking. Yet, who ever mistakes the one for the other? Who does not see it and complain, if one walks as he would dance, or dances as he would walk?

Dancing may be called the poetry of walking; singing, the poetry of speaking. That is, dancing is an art, in which the instruments of locomotion, ordinarily used for purposes of convenience or utility, and no farther thought of than as they subserve such purposes, have come to be used in an entirely different way, and for an entirely different effect; that is, for the gratification of a taste, for the display of skill, of grace, of beauty in attitude and motion. Singing, in like manner, is the employment of the organs of the voice for the production of

that peculiar effect, which sounds, as such, are capable of producing, and especially when connected with appropriate thought and emotion. In walking and speaking the action is merely instrumental to some end; in dancing and singing the action is the principal end in itself. They are expressions of certain states of mind, which find satisfaction in that expression. Hence the fact, that when, in walking or speaking, a man ardently thinks of his own motion or utterance, he runs the hazard of disgusting; whereas in dancing, or singing, we are not displeased, if, within certain limits, he evidently studies to move with dignity and grace, or to prolong and vary the pleasing and fascinating tones of his voice. He is but fixing his attention on the proper end of his performance; he does no more than the orator in studying to persuade, or the philosopher in laboring to instruct.

In speaking it is not, indeed, a matter of indifference what tones a man uses, or what sounds he utters. A clear, full, smooth voice, an easy, various, musical modulation are points of excellence in eloquence, or familiar discourse, and contribute to the general effect. And instances may occur of such extreme delicacy and beauty of elocution, in these respects, as to approach very near, in character and effect, to music itself; not, however, probably without some sacrifice of the variety and energy which belong to efficient speaking. Singing also may, as in chants and in the "Schoolmaster," and other similar pieces, so far sacrifice the flow and melody of music to distinct conversational variety and freedom, as to approach almost to elevated and harmonious discourse. Dancing and walking, too, may be widely different in the extremes, and yet almost run into each other, and be scarcely distinguishable, if the appropriate character of each is but imperfectly marked.

To what has thus been described as the poetry of motion and the poetry of elocution, the poetry of composition corresponds. Prose is ordinary, free, familiar, inartificial composition; employed in the business of life; for the ends of life; and, in its spirit and character, business-like. The aspects in which it considers objects are their SCIENTIFIC, COMMON SENSE aspects. The style it adopts is perspicuous, unstudied, efficient. It has an end, beyond itself, to attain, and to that end it looks and adapts itself. It demands attention for no other purpose; it desires means for no other object. It never seeks to place a thought in a striking light, for the sake of that light, saying, as it were,

“How beautiful, how grand, how wonderful this is!” It attracts not attention to itself. It studies not effect; it asks not to be admired. It knows nothing about selecting and grouping and coloring, to create a picture for the delight and wonder of the beholder. It is a “plain blunt personage,” who “speaks right on the things which he doth know.”

Poetry, on the other hand, is art, skill, taste, displayed in presenting, from the real world, or the world of fancy, the *selectest* things, in their most *perfect forms*, their *best attitudes*, their *loveliest attire*, their most *suggestive* and *affecting relations*. Thus it endeavors to awaken the imagination; to throw a spell over the scenes it portrays; to create about the reader a kind of faery world, in which he is himself, after all, the greatest wonder to himself.

Here COMPOSITION—in its literal sense putting together—emphatically takes place. Here are the best ideas, in the best order, and in the best expressions. While the intellect is tasked, the heart is touched, and the ear is charmed. Here are combined all the resources of beauty, which can be supposed to meet and unite in literature—beauty of thought, beauty of association and beauty of sound. Here reason, imagination and the senses are united. Poetry is ARTIFICIAL COMPOSITION; artificial, in the sense of exhibiting the highest art. Nothing imperfect in matter, or form, or circumstance is tolerated in our idea of perfection here. Nothing is too true; nothing is too great to be treated by the poet. Nothing is too trifling to be regarded by him. Much may depend on a word, on the very order of the words, on their sound even. Throughout there must be harmony; harmony of subject, of philosophy, of spirit, of arrangement, of illustration, of expression. Here all the laws of thought, of feeling, of language are observed and fulfilled. I speak of poetry, in the abstract, not of individual specimens. The question is sometimes asked, whether metre is essential to poetry. Poetry, it must be replied, is not usually applied to any but metrical composition; though no one thing belonging to it is essential, in this sense, that there cannot be any thing *poetical* without it. There is what may be called the poetical in the subject, in the fact, in the fiction, in the figures, in the language, and in the measure; and one or more of these may exhibit it more strikingly than the rest. Some of them may be wholly wanting; and yet the poetical may preponderate over the prosaic in the composition. But the

beau ideal of poetry implies the union of them all. Are a beautiful face and a sweet voice essential to a fine woman? Certainly, they do not *constitute* a fine woman, and would not be first named in the description of her. Yet, who ever separates these qualities from his idea of female perfection? What painter ever represented Eve as ugly? What poet does not give her a voice of music? At the prince's levee, is it essential to put our best apparel on? Men and women are much the same sort of beings in their every day attire and in their Sunday suit. But, for them to appear, on a gala day, in the costume of the counting room or the nursery, would seem not a little odd. For the business of life composition wears its sturdy, practical air and its working-dress; on gala days it comes forth, with a joyful heart, and in robes wrought by the graces, from the rainbow and the pearls of the sea.

The distinction here made between Prose and Poetry will be rendered more palpable by examples. It should be premised, however, that examples of the poetical are scattered through the orators, and historians, and other classes of writers not called poets. And a great deal that has the form of poetry is, nevertheless, prosaic. The poetical sometimes so prevails, under the forms of prose, that we are puzzled to give it a name. Ossian is an instance. The Psalms and other portions of the Old Testament are instances. Passages may have the spirit of poetry without rhythm; or, rhythm without the spirit of poetry. Or, they may have both in very unequal degrees. The prosaic is often introduced by the poet, to furnish relief, by contrast, to the poetical. The mind does not bear a continued stretch of thought. An incessant blaze of lightning would lose all its sublimity. It owes half its brightness to the dark bosom of the cloud from which it flashes. Good prose, also, borrows rays from poetry. When a fine writer is warmed with his subject, and his fancy kindles, the poetry of his thoughts, as Montgomery has beautifully said, "comes out as naturally as a blush or a smile over a beautiful countenance."

"Love your enemies," is a plain precept in prose. "Love your enemies," says Menou, "like the sandal-tree, which sheds perfume on the axe that fells it." This, though in the form of prose, is the poetry of the precept; it is the same precept in a striking light.

"It is noon," says the writer of prose. How says the poet the same thing?

"Still is the toiling hand of care,
 The panting herds repose,
 Yet, hark, how through the peopled air
 The busy murmur glows!
 The insect youth are on the wing,
 Eager to taste the honeyed spring,
 And float amid the liquid noon.
 Some lightly o'er the current skim,
 Some show their gaily gilded trim,
 Quick glancing to the sun."

The poetry of noon is noon, in the circumstances which give it interest to the imagination and the heart.

"Poetry has been cultivated in the coldest and bleakest regions," says the critic. Hear a poet utter the same fact:

"In climes beyond the solar road,
 Where shaggy forms o'er ice-built mountains roam,
 The muse has broke the twilight gloom,
 To cheer the shivering native's dull abode."

This is a picture of the arctic regions for the fancy and the affections. "Beyond the solar road," "ice-built mountains," "shaggy forms," "the twilight gloom," "the shivering native," are poetic lights of the subject.

"When evening came," says prose. The poet speaks, and we hear,

"When Evening's dusky car,
 Crowned with her dewy star,
 Steal's o'er the fading sky in shadowy flight."

"It is night," says prose. How the poet sings this simple truth:

"Eve saddens into night,
 Mother of wildly working dreams!
 * * * * * *
 Sorceress of the ebon throne."

"I was waking," is prose. The poetry of the fact is:

"Sleep, softly breathing god, his downy wing
 Was fluttering now, as, quickly, to depart."

Poetry can thus dispose of almost any object so as to give the beholders its best, its loveliest aspect—that aspect which puts the imagination into an animated and delightful exercise.

To the ordinary mind a butterfly is a gay creature, and nothing more. What is it to the poet ?

“Stay near me ; do not take thy flight ;
A little longer stay in sight.
Much converse do I find in thee,
Historian of my infancy !
Float near me ; do not yet depart ;
Dead times revive in thee.
Thou bring'st, gay creature as thou art,
A solemn image to my heart,
My father's family.
O ! pleasant, pleasant were the days,
The time, when, in our childish plays,
My sister Emeline and I
Together chased the butterfly.
A very hunter, I did rush
Upon the prey ; with leaps and springs,
I followed on from brake to bush ;
But she, God love her ! feared to brush
The dust from off its wings.”

In Wordsworth's “We are Seven,” are the following lines :

“My stockings there I often knit,
My kerchief there I hem,
And there upon the ground I sit,
I sit and sing to them.”

This is simple, childlike prose, except that it is metre. A beautiful child is represented as insisting on it, that they were seven, though two of the number were dead.

“Then did the little maid reply,
Seven, boys and girls are we.
Two of us in the churchyard lie,
Beneath the churchyard tree.
You run about, my little maid,
Your limbs, they are alive ;
If two are in the churchyard laid,
Then you are only five.
Their graves are green,
They may be seen,
The little maid replied,
Twelve steps or more
From mother's door,
And they are side by side.
My stockings there I often knit,
My kerchief there I hem,
And there upon the ground I sit,
I sit and sing to them.

And, often, after sunset, sir,
 When it is light and fair,
 I take my little porringer
 And eat my supper there."

In this case, the most unpoetical facts, hemming and knitting, and eating from a porringer, receive a picturesque and pathetic interest, which raises them to the dignity of poetry, by the circumstances in which they are presented, as the acts of juvenile simplicity and affection, on the green turf of a brother's and a sister's grave, at the solemn, suggestive hour of evening twilight.

"I love you, sweet Genevieve," says the writer of prose, "not for your beauty, but for your benevolence."

"Maid of my love, sweet Genevieve,
 In beauty's light you glide along,
 Your eye is like the star of eve,
 And sweet your voice as seraph's song.
 Yet, not your heavenly beauty gives
 This heart with passion soft to glow;
 Within your soul a voice there lives;
 It bids you hear the tale of wo.
 When sinking low the sufferer wan
 Beholds no hand outstretched to save,
 Fair as the bosom of the swan,
 That rises graceful o'er the wave,
 I've seen your breast with pity heave;
 And, therefore, love I you, sweet Genevieve."

In the 14th chapter of Exodus is an historical account of the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea; and, in the 15th chapter, the same event is poetically represented in the song of Moses.

Says the history, "Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided." "With the blast of thy nostrils," says the poet, "the waters were gathered together, the floods stood upright in an heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea." The "strong east wind" becomes "the blast of the Almighty's nostrils;" the "divided waters" "stand upright," "congealed," "in the heart of the sea."

"The Egyptains pursued," says the historian, "and went in after them." The poet is dramatic: "The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil; my lust shall be

satisfied upon them; I will draw the sword, my hand shall destroy them."

"The waters returned," says the historian, "and covered the chariots and the horsemen, and all the hosts of Pharaoh, that came into the sea after them; there remained not so much as one of them."

"Thou didst blow with thy wind," says the song of Moses; "the sea covered them; they sank as lead in the mighty waters. Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?"

In the 4th chapter of Judges is a plain narrative of the discomfiture and death of Sisera; and, in the next chapter, the same events are celebrated in the song of Deborah.

In these examples the poetic spirit is exhibited, in the circumstances with which it clothes ideas that do not, in themselves, necessarily, excite the imagination, or move the heart deeply. It would be easy to multiply and vary the illustrations of the principles laid down in this chapter; but enough have been adduced to enable the reader to judge of the propriety of those principles, and to suggest other and, perhaps, more pertinent examples. The beautiful lectures of Montgomery on general literature will extend his acquaintance with the subject, and amply reward a careful perusal. I will only add an instance where the simplest expression of a natural sentiment is endued with that poetical power, which genius alone can exercise over the soul. When Lady Macbeth is represented, by Shakspeare, as waiting, near by, in anxious solicitude, the return of her husband from the murder of Duncan, she is alarmed by a noise within, and, in her fear lest the deed had not been done, exclaims:

"Had he not resembled
My father, as he slept, I had done 't."

What a picture of humanity is suggested to the heart by this touching sentiment of filial piety yet blooming in the scorched and desolate bosom of this unnatural woman!

ARTICLE VII.

REVIEW OF PROFESSOR TAPPAN'S WORKS ON THE WILL.

By Rev. George B. Cheever, Pastor of the Allen-street Presb. Church, New-York.

EDITORIAL REMARKS.

THE editors of the Repository have ever not only welcomed, but *solicited*, the free discussion of all biblical subjects and theological doctrines, whether fundamental, and essential to the Christian system, or merely secondary and explanatory. Of the latter class are the several theories which have been broached on the subject of the Will. These, in their tendencies, affect, more or less, the power of fundamental truths, and, on this account, possess a high relative importance.

We have noticed the successive volumes of Professor Tappan on the Will, as they have appeared, and have commended them to our readers as worthy of a candid perusal. It has not been our intention, however, to indicate, by these notices, our own position in respect to his system as a whole. We have been willing to sit as learners at the feet of those who are better prepared than ourselves to search to the bottom a subject which, in all ages of the world, has so perplexed,—and often bewildered,—the minds of the most profound and original thinkers. And we were willing to see the system of Edwards, so long and so extensively adopted in this country,—by a sort of common consent,—again subjected to a new and thorough examination. But the reviewer of Edwards could by no means expect to escape an equally searching review, from some friend of the system which he had so fearlessly assailed; and we have been disappointed that no such review has been offered for our pages.

In the mean time the following article has been submitted; and, though it fails to express our own views, on several points, it possesses so many excellences, is so rich in imagery, so playful and attractive, and contains so many striking, pointed and just sayings *about* philosophy,—as well as some important sentiments and positions *on* philosophy,—that we cannot find it in our hearts to deny our readers the pleasure we have derived from its perusal. We present it, therefore, as the

opening of a discussion, which we trust will be resumed on our pages, by some other hand, at no distant day.—SR. ED.

A Review of Edwards' Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will.
By Henry Phillip Tappan. New-York: John S. Taylor.
1839.

The Doctrine of the Will determined by an appeal to Consciousness. By Henry P. Tappan. New-York: Wiley and Putnam. 1840.

The Doctrine of the Will applied to Moral Agency and Responsibility. By Henry P. Tappan. New-York: Wiley and Putnam. 1841.

THE History of Philosophy is in truth a history of the love of wisdom, but not of its attainment. For the most part it describes merely the dark struggles either of minds unassisted by revelation, or of minds disregarding the light while surrounded by it, and continuing their speculations in the preferred darkness of old unenlightened nature. Of these two classes of intellects, the first have made the greatest advances in investigation, and the nearest approximations to the truth. The last have done little more than to fall back, by the light of Christianity, within the circle of the speculations of the former, and there continue to grope after phantasms. At the same time, in the grammar of metaphysical science, or the analysis and classification of the human faculties, and the observance of their operations, much advancement has been made, and method established; and thus metaphysics has come to wear the aspect of a regular and definite science, while as yet the speculations of many of its professors, instead of exhibiting the clearness of scientific knowledge, are full of darkness and incertitude. Assuming a superiority to Plato, and all the philosophical world of antiquity, and disregarding the light of Christianity, as inferior, on this subject, to that of reason, they have fallen behind both, and are travelling in a region, which has neither the obscure magnificence of the Platonic, nor the solidity and clearness of the Christian. Meantime the appearance of certainty and definiteness in what might be called the grammar of metaphysics, a grammar without books for the study of the language, has perhaps prevented advancement in the science by fostering a false satisfaction in the apparent determinateness and excellence of discoveries already made.

At all events, metaphysical science has advanced slowly in comparison with the physical sciences; and systems of gross absurdity and infidelity have been broached, that in physical things would not have been endured for a moment. What they can touch, taste, handle, men are certain of; but all things that relate to the spiritual being, and to man's inward, real existence, are a *terra incognita*, and a mystery. The life of the soul is much sooner denied than that of the senses. The *γνωσι σεαυτον* has well been called a heaven-descended maxim; but how universally neglected!

We know ourselves least; mere outward shows
 Our minds do store,
 That our souls, no more than our eyes, disclose
 But form and color. Only he, who knows
 Himself, knows more. DONNE.

Nevertheless, we will not be discouraged. There is, after all, a better tendency. The polar inclination of the world towards cold and darkness has reached its extreme, and we are now verging to the culmination of warmth, light, and loveliness. Nature, by and by, will be beauty, and the laws and logic of the beautiful will be investigated by the soul. A change in the elements is taking place; its signs are not indistinguishable. The rays of the rising sun shoot above the horizon. We shall see the clouds rolled away, and the blue heavens shining. We shall see a light over all departments of the human intellect glorious to behold. It is high time for such advancement. With what amazing rapidity do men move forward in the sensible sciences! We shall soon be found studying the very entomology of the moon, while the wondrous recesses of our own spiritual being are almost as undiscovered as the solar systems of the milky way. "When will man learn," exclaims Mr. Dana, in one of the finest passages of his poetry,

"When will man learn
 The outward by the inward to discern?
 The inward by the spirit? Here begin
 Thy search, philosopher, and thou shalt win
 Thy way down deep into the soul. The light,
 Shed in by God, shall open to thy sight
 Vast powers of being, filled with Life and God;
 And faculties come forth, and put to shame
 Thy vain and curious reasoning. Whence they came
 Thou shalt not ask; for they shall breathe an air
 From upper worlds around,

And thou,
 Self-awed in their mysterious presence, bow ;
 And while thou listenest with thine inward ear,
 The ocean of eternity shalt hear,
 Along its coming waves ; and thou shalt see
 Its spiritual waters as they roll through thee ;
 Nor toil, in hard abstractions of the brain,
 Some guess of immortality to gain :
 For far-sought truth within thy soul shall rise,
 Informing visions to thine inward eyes."

These glorious visions, and the inward eyes to look at them, are reluctantly acknowledged, reluctantly exercised. Men sleep, dream, somnambulize in philosophic matters, but they do not work with their inward senses, in spiritual things, as they do with their outward senses in external things.

When we were schoolboys, we used to busy ourselves with rolling snowballs, and building snow-houses. There is a great deal of this in philosophy ; but these snow-houses are not practicable to live in. Nevertheless, a man of genius sets his ball in motion, and by and by it gets large, and other shoulders are put to it, and it takes up great layers of earth and sticks from the ground, as well as layers of snow ; and when it can be rolled no farther, but rests, men make a wonder of it, and speculate about it, and *historicise* its composition, and dignify and magnify its importance ; then warm weather comes, and it melts, and the residuum is nothing but plain mud. Every generation has its philosophic snowballs.

Now if men's speculations, besides being as bootless, were as innocuous as boy's play, the forming of philosophic systems would be a harmless recreation for the intellect. But this business is like delving in quicksilver mines, and a man's soul grows lean and pale on the poison. "*I tell you, a fellow that speculates is like a brute driven in a circle on a barren heath by an evil spirit, whilst fair green meadow lies everywhere around.*" It was hardly just in Goethe to put this admirable sentiment into the mouth of his sarcastic devil ; it should have been the breath of serious, earnest feeling. Indeed, according to Milton, Mephistopheles did speak thus from experience, by having gotten so often involved in painful, thorny speculations in hell. There they reasoned high

Of providence, foreknowledge, will and fate,
 Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
 And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.

We hardly know whether it be easier or more common to speculate the heart out of one's religion, or the religion out of one's heart. Both may be done with great ease, and both will be done, if a man fond of speculation be not very careful. The well known aphorism of Burke, that nothing can be conceived more hard than the heart of a thoroughbred metaphysician, has some ground in truth, even in a wider sense than that in which he applied it. Metaphysics does certainly tend to the petrification of a man's piety. The heart gets rust-eaten, about in proportion as the mind is sharpened. The fair green meadow is forsaken;—forsaken are the still waters and green pastures of God's simple word, and the sweet childlike life of faith, and gloomily the soul spins on, in that everlasting circle on the barren heath, driven by an evil spirit. If there are some wonderful exceptions to this habit, like the deep simplicity of feeling, seraphic ardor, and sharp subtlety mixed in the character of Baxter, they render the rule more striking.

Now it is a melancholy pity, when a man's philosophy, instead of being the angel that steps down into the Bethesda of his speculations to trouble its waters for his cure, only perplexes the depth of his being, and turns up mire and dirt. It is still worse, when a man's philosophy, having puzzled his own mind and distorted his vision, turns the crystal water of the running stream of God's word into a muddy current, so that every cup he drinks makes him a spiritual dyspeptic. Not that an erroneous philosophy can really mingle with divine truth, but a man may dip into the one through the medium of the other, and so spoil the medicine. Human philosophy and divine truth are like the confluence of the waters of the Arve from the mountains of Switzerland, with the clear arrowy Rhone, as it issues from the azure depths of the lake of Geneva; they flow on together, but refuse to mingle, and so there is the transparent medium like a blue atmosphere on one side, and the mud on the other. Now according to the margin on which you stand you will see the mud or the sweet blue water, or you may command a position, on the overhanging cliffs above, where you can see distinctly the contrast between them, the very dividing line, with all its whirls and eddies. So it is with philosophy separated from the Scriptures. If you stand on one side, it is all mud; if on the other, you know nothing about the mud, and can see only the crystal water, and your own image revealed to you in the silent depths of its truthful, holy mirror. Some

men think it very important to know all about this mud of philosophy, and to analyze it; and some men drink of the two streams only from that side. But as long as philosophy plays at blind-man's buff with the consciousness, and goes in masquerade to the common sense, a man may safely say to it, Stand apart from my Bible. It can do the mind no harm to remain in great ignorance of a false philosophy, or to view it only through the medium of God's word.

It is a singular consequence and proof of our depravity that that which is spiritual and beyond the senses, or, in the Apostle's words, that which is unseen and eternal, seems less real than that which is seen and temporal. This dreadful influence of man's fall has been carried into all the movements of his soul, and especially has sat like an incubus,

"Heavy as frost, and deep, almost, as life,"—

over all his philosophical speculations. This is the reason why an inward and spiritual philosophy is regarded as opposed to common sense and reality. The world's mind has been saturated with the mists of a scheme in league with men's natural, grovelling earthliness; and men seem to themselves much more evidently to be moving amidst tangible realities in this dripping mist, that wets and chills the frame to the bones, than in a clear, bright, bracing atmosphere. The earth rocks to a man just returned from a long sea-voyage; the deck of a rolling ship itself seems to him more steady than the land, so long as he has been accustomed to the unstable element of ocean. He has walked so long upon his *sea-legs*, that on *terra firma* he staggers like a drunken man. Just so, that which is unreal, unstable, and transitory, is deemed more solid, because we are accustomed to it, and have been living by sight instead of faith, than that which is spiritual and eternal. It is we upon our *sea-legs* that rock, and not the *terra firma* of a true philosophy.

A man accustomed to a sensuous philosophy feels as if he were making a balloon ascension the moment you draw him out of it; beyond the experience of the senses he is in darkness, though then only in the true world of light. He asks to be brought back to realities, and treated with something safe, tangible, and intelligible, just as a man imprisoned for forty years in the cells of the Bastille finds himself blind in the sunlight, and begs to be restored to his dungeon. There is an

apologue in Plato so striking upon this subject, that we cannot but call to it the notice of our readers. It is to be found in the opening of the seventh book of the Republic, and it does most beautifully illustrate the source of very many of the complaints of "mysticism," both philosophical and spiritual. The beauty of the extract will be sufficient apology for its length, and its appositeness will save our being accused of digression.

"Consider men as in a subterraneous habitation, resembling a cave, with its entrance expanding to the light, and answering to the whole extent of the cave. Suppose them to have been in this cave from their childhood, with chains on both their legs and necks, so as to remain there, and only be able to look before them, but by the chain incapable to turn their heads round. Suppose them likewise to have the light of a fire burning far above and behind them; and that between the fire and the fettered men there is a road above. Along this road observe a wall built like that which hedges in the stage of mountebanks, on which they exhibit their wonderful tricks. I observe it, said he. Behold now along this wall men bearing all sorts of utensils, raised above the wall, and human statues, and other animals in wood and stone, and furniture of every kind. And, as is likely, some of those who are carrying these are speaking, and others silent. You mention, said he, a wonderful comparison, and wonderful fettered men. But such, however, as resemble us, said I; for, in the first place, do you think that such as these see any thing of themselves, or of one another, but the shadows formed by the fire, falling on the opposite part of the cave? How can they, said he, if, through the whole of life, they be under a necessity, at least, of having their heads unmoved? But what do they see of what is carrying along? Is it not the very same? Why not? If then they were able to converse with one another, do you not think they would deem it proper to give names to those very things which they saw before them? Of necessity they must. And what if the opposite part of the prison had an echo; when any of those, who passed along spake, do you imagine they would reckon that what spake was any thing else than the passing shadow? Not I, said he. Such as these, then, said I, will entirely judge that there is nothing true but the shadows of utensils. By an abundant necessity, replied he. With reference, then, both to their freedom from these chains, and their cure of this ignorance, consider the nature of it, if such a thing should happen to them. When any one should be loosed, and obliged on a sudden to rise up, turn round his neck and walk, and look up towards the light, and in doing all these things should be pained, and unable, from the splendors, to behold the things, of which he formerly saw the shadows, what do you think he would say, if one should tell him that formerly he had seen trifles, but now, being somewhat nearer to reality, and turning toward what was more real, he saw with more rectitude; and so, pointing out to him each of the things passing along, should question him, and oblige him to tell what it was; do you not think he would be both in doubt, and would deem what he had formerly seen

to be more true, than what was now pointed out to him? By far, said he. *And if he should oblige him to look at the light itself, would he not find pain in his eyes, and shun it; and turning to such things as he is able to behold, reckon that these are really more clear than those pointed out?* Just so, replied he.

"But if one, said I, should drag him from thence, violently, through a rough and steep ascent, and never stop till he drew him up to the light of the sun, would he not, while he was thus drawn, both be in torment, and be filled with indignation? And after he had even come to the light, having his eyes filled with splendor, he would be able to see none of those things now called true. He would not, said he, suddenly, at least. But he would require, I think, to be accustomed to it some time, if he were to perceive things above. And first of all, he would most easily perceive shadows, and afterwards the images of men and other things in water, and after that the things themselves. And with reference to these he would more easily see the things in the heavens, and the heavens themselves, by looking in the night to the light of the stars and the moon, than by day looking on the sun, and the light of the sun. How can it be otherwise? And last of all, he may be able, I think, to perceive and contemplate the sun himself, not in water, nor resemblances of him in a foreign seat, but himself by himself, in his own proper region. Of necessity, said he. And after this, he would now reason with himself concerning him, that it is he who gives the seasons and years, and governs all things in the visible place; and that of all those things which he formerly saw, he is in a certain manner the cause. It is evident, said he, that after these things he may arrive at such reasonings as these. But what? When he remembers his first habitation, and the vision which was there, and those who were then his companions in bonds, do you not think he will esteem himself happy by the change, and pity them; and that greatly? And if there were any honors and encomiums and rewards among themselves for him who most acutely perceived what passed along, and best remembered which of the shadows was wont to pass foremost, which latest, and which of them went together, and from these observations were best able to presage what was to happen; does it appear to you that he would be desirous of such honors, or envy those who among these are honored or in power? Or would he not rather wish to suffer that of Homer, and vehemently desire,

As laborer to some ignoble man,
To work for hire,

and rather suffer any thing, than to possess such opinions, and live after such a manner? I think so, replied he, that he would rather suffer and embrace any thing, rather than live in that manner.

"But consider this farther, said I:—if such an one should descend, and sit down again in the same seat, would not his eyes be filled with darkness, in consequence of coming suddenly from the sun? Very much so, replied he. And should he now again be obliged to give his opinion of those shadows, and to dispute about them with those who are there eternally chained, whilst yet his eyes were dazzled, and before they recovered their former state (which would not be

effected in a short time), would he not afford them laughter? And would it not be said of him, that *having ascended, he was returning with vitiated eyes, and that it was not proper even to attempt to go above, and that whoever should attempt to liberate them and lead them up, if ever they were able to get him into their hands, should be put to death?* They would by all means, said he, PUT HIM TO DEATH."

Now from generation to generation we have all dwelt deep down in Plato's cave; and we have ever, in this miserable world, kept the habit of crucifying our teachers and deliverers. And the prophetic truths in this extract make one of the most remarkable passages in all ancient literature. That some men should even take it as a half-inspired prediction of the death of Christ would be no way wonderful; but putting that aside, it illustrates with a power, wisdom, and beauty, for which we reverence the academic philosopher, the habits of men in their dungeons of sense, and the difficulty of reclaiming them to light and knowledge.

There is the same relation of the fallen mind to what is spiritual in philosophy, that there is among the multitude to the theory of ghosts and apparitions. Men start back from them affrighted; and as the only effectual way to conquer this fear is to entertain the fullest belief in the world of spirits, and to act accordingly, so in philosophy. Men are as much afraid of a spiritual philosophy at noonday, as they are of a ghost in the darkness. Robert Hall said of Macknight the commentator, that he would never step into the spiritual world, so long as he could retain a foothold in the material. Thus do men in the cave cling to materialism. Out of the very senses and sensible forms which God meant to lead us to himself, we make barriers and hedges of our faith, and objects of worship. Hezekiah contemptuously denominated the Brazen Serpent, *Nehushtan, a piece of brass*, and ordered it to be ground to powder. It was a signal proof both of the Popish idolatrous tendency of the best part of the world in those times, and of Hezekiah's great strength of mind in resisting it. Now our philosophy in these days, and to some extent our religion too, is full of *Nehushtans*, pieces of brass; and some men burn incense to them; and *iconoclasts* are needed as much now as ever; though a man, in dedicating himself to this work, except his own interest in fashion, place and influence be already secured, runs the hazard of breaking his own head instead of that of the image, against some disastrous theological ban or anathema, cross-bolted against him. Just as

good Hezekiah, had he, instead of being king of Israel, occupied the place of some humble servant or worshipper in the temple, would have had his own head broken, or perhaps his whole body burned alive, for his daring defiance of the popular prejudices.

There are dangers of another kind, in the passionate pursuit of systems. A man deep in philosophy runs into extremes; and even in the honest, eager hunt, as he thinks, after truth, finds himself, unawares, very far from the highway of *divine* truth. What a lesson is taught, on this subject, in the philosophical history of the Christian Fathers! There are some rules that ought to be regarded. A man is never to let an uncertain philosophy interfere with the reception of certain Scriptural truth. Take, for example, the doctrine of election. It is so clearly revealed in the Scriptures, that no psychological or philosophical theory, or argument, or deduction of consequences, can stand against it. If my philosophy does not coincide with it, then, instead of seeking to clear up the Scriptures consentaneously with my philosophy, I will let my philosophy wait upon the Scriptures. It shall be the servant, and not the master. And if my philosophy is such, that it makes me shy of certain doctrines, which, nevertheless, I see reason to believe the Scriptures teach, I conclude that I have reason to be shy of my philosophy. The true philosophy, I am sure, as an atmosphere, so to speak, for the word of God, will clearly transmit, and not darken its rays; it will increase and not weaken my convictions of divine truth.

Again, if my philosophy is one that perplexes the mind of an inquirer on the subject of religion, if, driven to its consequences, it seems to give cover to infidelity, and to increase rather than diminish the objections of a doubting mind against the truth, I have great reason to mistrust my philosophy. Truth is never at war with truth. The word of God and the soul of man are each a revelation of the Deity, and the right interpretation of the one cannot contradict the meaning of the other. If my philosophy darkens the divine attributes, I have reason to set it down as a wrong philosophy.

There are systems, which, like the mastodon or megatherium skeletons, dug up from the ruins of a former world, on being put together, indicate a sort of animal that, if living now, would eat up a hemisphere for its subsistence. We do not want a philosophy that, like the progeny of sin, feeds upon its mother's womb. A philosophy that destroys first causes, that, strictly

driven, would lead to fatalism, or deny the sovereignty or the righteousness of God, or obliterate the seals of God's image in the creature, a philosophy that perplexes the common consciousness, and contradicts the common sense of mankind, though a very subtle sophistry may be armed for its support, and in books it may have a strong place, is not the philosophy that can, or ought to prevail. It may exercise a temporary despotism in the schools, but it will not command men's belief or affections.

Again, if a philosophy be recommended, which disclaims and despises experience and common sense, we have almost as much reason to reject it, as if it denied the authority of the Scriptures. The true philosophy will be one, which puts experience and common sense in their legitimate position, and makes the proper use of them, as a truly inductive philosophy; though these qualities are not to be the regent of the mind, any more than the engine of a steam-ship is to be put in place of the compass or the rudder. And if, under the misnomer of transcendentalism, a vaunted philosophy runs into all the vagaries of pantheism, we are sure it is not the true philosophy which has produced this; it is neither philosophy nor religion, but an element opposed to both.

We admire the presentation of this subject by professor Lewis,* and especially his abhorrence of invidious distinctions.

"There have been men, who have been ranked in the sensual school of philosophy, adorned with every Christian virtue. There have been men very slow of belief, whose faith notwithstanding has produced a rich harvest of good works, and of laborious efforts to promote the best interests of mankind; whilst others, who have declaimed the loudest about spirituality and high belief, have scattered wide around them the seeds of a pantheistic skepticism. Such facts, however, only show the results of the two states, when the barrenness of the one has been cured by the fertilizing dews of grace, and the exuberance of the other has been left to the blighting influence of native depravity."

"In the hands of irreligious men, that is, men who are not in mind and heart Christians, all philosophy is irreligious. The system, which subsequently bore the name of Locke, was atheism as taught by Hobbes. By later writers of the same school, it has been shown, and truly shown, that it leads directly to materialism. The philosophy of Kant, meeting with the believing spirit of the pious Stilling, gave his soul a resting place from the difficulties which had arisen from an

* Discourse on *The Believing Spirit*. By Taylor Lewis, Professor of Greek in the University of New York.

opposing system. The transcendental, or rather the true Platonic doctrine, sweetly harmonizes with the high religious belief of a Tholuck, and others of that noble band, who are so strenuously resisting the progress of rationalism in Germany. Yet on others it has produced far different effects. Professing a hyper-spirituality, they have only given another name to the universal substance of the materialist. The two systems may seem at first to differ widely, yet when destitute of the saving element of *that religious faith, without which all philosophy is a mass of contradictions*, they terminate each in its peculiar pantheism."

Now, without putting Edwards' system on the will in any of the preceding categories, we do nevertheless believe that it is contrary to the common consciousness and experience of mankind; and we also think that it is contrary to the common language of the Scriptures. And yet it is supported by mighty powers of reasoning, was constructed under a despotic sense of duty, and propounded to the world under the influence of the deepest piety, with more unmingled purity of motive than ever actuated any other philosopher. Its author had, indeed, what the builder of no other system ever dreamed of, an eye single to God's glory. It stands, therefore, as much by the strength of Edwards' piety, as it does by the power of his logic. And yet it rules the mind, so far as it does rule, not by conviction or affection, but by a sort of violent despotism. Its incursion on the intellectual world is like that of a marauding party, who have taken possession suddenly and violently of an unguarded border-land, and on the premises so occupied have built a huge, impregnable, frowning castle, from which, without legitimately owning a foot of ground, not even the piece it stands on, they overawe the whole country. In these circumstances you cannot successfully contend with them, and you cannot beat down their castle. There is no way but to spring a mine, if need be, a league under ground, and blow up the whole acre of land it covers, fortress and all, into the air.

Can this be done? In other words, can the premises of Edwards be successfully questioned and denied? Was the whole psychological system, on which his doctrine of the will was built, fundamentally erroneous? If so, then we may carry the question by appeal. The cause has only to be removed from a lower to a higher court. We deny the jurisdiction of the court in which it has been tried. A psychology fundamentally different from Edwards' relieves the cause of its difficulties, and nothing else will. It is just as if a man, reasoning on the Py-

thagorean scheme in astronomy, should undertake to prove that the earth does not move on its axis. Galileo and the inquisition disagree, and until the cause can be tried before an astronomical philosophy fundamentally different, he will be pronounced a heretic, and imprisoned, if not burnt. The time has been (we do not say that it is such now, neither do we say that it is not) when an inquisition existed in theological philosophy, and Edwards' book on the freedom of the will was put at the head of it. Every man's opinions must be imprisoned, or he himself must be branded as a heretic, whose mind did not come to the same conclusions with that great, good and powerful thinker. Even now the disposition is not wanting in certain quarters to make Edwards' book a sort of theological guillotine to a man's reputation. We oppose such a tendency, with our whole heart. It can never advance the cause of truth thus to swear in the words of a master. The good old maxim, *Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri*, is but an interpretation of the authoritative injunction of our blessed Lord, to call no man master on earth. Still more strongly does it hold, with church or individual, when we put it in the form, Compel no man to call another master. We abjure Popery in every shape; otherwise, we would go to Rome, and have it *in puris naturalibus*.

It is well to look abroad, and remember that there are psychologists and theologians also, out of our own horizon; and that even Calvinism itself may possibly not be in all conceivable circumstances the most absolutely perfect form which theological science shall ever assume in men's digests. Before Edwards lived, there were giants in theology and personal piety, who still do rule our spirits from their urns, but whose views never, by any violence, can be made to coincide with his; yet do men never dream of linking to the theological reputation of those great writers an affinity with those errors against which the philosophy of Edwards on the Will has been supposed the only safeguard. It has been with great propriety remarked, that it ought to assist in securing to new inquiries on the freedom of the will a candid hearing, and in banishing theological prejudice from ground where it should have no place, to remember that Howe, Charnock, Baxter and Bates, with their associated hundreds, preached the gospel in purity and with power, without holding such opinions as those advanced by Edwards, or rather while holding with all their souls the very opposite opinions in respect to the will. These holy men and profound theologians never dreamed that the maintenance of such views

as those of Edwards was essential to the defence of the doctrines of grace. On the contrary, so far as can be gathered from their writings, the philosophical opinions of these men were precisely the same with some of those which Edwards counted so pernicious in their tendency. Let this be marked and remembered.

We are admirers, almost to idolatry, of John Howe and his gigantic intellectual and religious associates; at the same time we yield supremacy to none in the feeling of pride and affection, which every son of New England cherishes towards the memory and the works of President Edwards. But neither to the one nor to the other, neither to canonized classes nor to individuals, could we ever consent to commit a dictatorial power over opinions, public or private. If we declared allegiance to any one man, it should be to such a holy mind as Edwards'. We love to record our unaffected admiration of the vigorous and all-absorbing piety of the man, the scholar and the metaphysician. Would that his opponents, wherever they are, possessed the half of it. Not even Robert Boyle, nor Sir Isaac Newton, nor Henry More, can make any pretensions, though distinguished, every one of them, for depth of humility and piety, as well as philosophy, to that surprising advancement in the divine life, to that absorbedness in the divine glory, which characterized the first philosopher of New England. What entire purity of motive, what freedom from pride and prejudice, what contempt of an earthly reputation, what superiority to the last infirmity of noble minds, what searching discipline of the affections! As an accompaniment, and partly as the legitimate consequence of this,—the result of so gigantic an intellectual constitution under the guidance of affections so sanctified,—what largeness and comprehensiveness in his views of the scheme of redemption; what love of divine truth and submission to it; what clear insight and sublime conception of the divine plan; what stern and jealous upholding of the divine justice, along with the most ravishing idea and experience of the divine mercy!

It is true, that Edwards contemplated God rather as a Law-giver than as a Saviour, rather in his hatred of sin than his condescension to sinners. And this was necessary. What would have become of our theology, if the starting-point in our investigations, and the correcting-point in our calculations, had been the divine mercy instead of the divine holiness. If Edwards erred anywhere, he was determined it should be on the side of the divine glory, and not of human imperfection. He

was fond of the *Who art thou, O man, that repliest against God?* He loved to exalt the Creator and to humble the creature. This makes his system very distasteful to all that class of proud pietists, who boast much of the dignity of human nature, the magnificence and all-sufficiency of human reason, the compassion of God for human frailty. There is no compassion out of Christ. It is but as a High Priest, adopting the human nature as his own, and suffering for sinners, that God can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; at least there is no other ground for the exercise of such compassion. Rather than let the fact of such compassion abate man's hatred of his own sins, or his conceptions of the unbending, unalterable holiness and justice of God, Edwards would resolve even compassion itself into a mere expedient for the revelation of the divine glory.

Perhaps it was something of this feeling, this jealousy for God's sovereignty, and this unconditional abasement of sinful human nature, that made Edwards so careless, unconditional, and despotic in his denial of the element of contingency or independence in human volitions. The bias of his theological system found its extreme in his philosophical system; it was an extreme on the noblest side, to be sure, but the extreme even of truth becomes injustice and error. Some men, in hatred of a certain particular application of the maxim *fiat justitia, ruat cælum*, are ready to say *fiat cælum, ruat justitia*; *let heaven be maintained, though justice fall*. One extreme is as bad as the other; and the maxim of the apostle holds good in philosophy as well as in theology or in practical life, that we may not do evil that good may come. To violate a man's consciousness, though it be by a sophistry which he cannot detect, a chain of logic in which he can find no flaw, may answer a present purpose, may serve for an emergency, but in the end it will prove no helper to the cause of truth. To do this in philosophy in order to support our particular views of religion, is just undermining the subjective foundations of both. If we may apply the admirable illustration of Mr. Coleridge, it is the wisdom of digging down the charcoal foundations of the temple of Ephesus, in order to keep up the fires upon its altars.

We should have preferred, had it been possible, that Edwards' mind should have got engaged on the subject of the will as a special province in mental philosophy without any particular or ultimate object, other than the love and investigation of all truth. We should like to have seen a system so excogitated. But it cannot be denied that Edwards wrote for a particular

object, with a side view. No man can do this, and keep clear of distortion. The side purpose may be a good one, and yet its effect will be injurious in the delineation of the main subject. It will be like a side light, where the painter wants it from the ceiling or the dome. There are some portrait painters, who get a strong resemblance by seizing a particular feature or expression, no matter what becomes of the rest ; but this is a caricature rather than a likeness. So with the delineation of some philosophical or theological subjects. We believe that Edwards on the Freedom of the Will, in opposition to Arminius and his followers, was a very different book from what Edwards on the Will would have been, having no supposed enemies to contend with. The *metaphysics* of Edwards, remarks the author of the Natural History of Enthusiasm, did indeed "demolish the *metaphysics* of Whitby. This was natural and fit ; for the philosophy of Arminianism could no more endure a rigid analysis, than a citadel of rooks could maintain its integrity against a volley of musketry. But then (not to insist again upon the fact, that the 'Inquiry' of Edwards has become almost the text book of infidelity) it has not in any sensible degree brought home the abstract argument to the purely theological difficulty."

Moreover, it is one thing to be a metaphysical logician, and quite another to be a psychological reasoner. No man ever wrote, whose logic is so irresistible as Edwards.' Admit his definitions, and you advance to his conclusions with a necessity as rigid as fate. He is like a Boa Constrictor. Allow him one coil, no matter where, and you are crushed and helpless, and the folds tighten with every movement. You may feel uneasy in his hands, and hardly dealt by, but there is no help. You are like a man in the nightmare, and as if a spell were laid upon you, your soul is frozen in the icy chain of his argument. But it is an argument that freezes all things, mind, matter, soul, intellect, sense, thought, feeling, emotion, being, the universe, God ! If it were not for this, the book would be one of unmingled delightfulness ; we should love to see its author demolishing one after another the errors of his opponents, taking their system for that which he represents it to be,—the doctrine of blind chance, the denial of causation, the denial, among other things, of the truth of entire human depravity, of the necessity of supernatural illumination, and of the doctrine of justification by faith alone. These being the things which he calls Arminian notions, we should like to stand by and see him break upon

the wheel of his logic a scheme of philosophy set up for the support of such errors. He might have done it without a mode of definition and argument, which, driven in another direction, binds together the dead bones of errors equally as bad, *articulates* them, clothes them with flesh, and raises them up, an exceeding great army. Of the powers and elements of his logic so applied, we would say as Burke said of the metaphysical subtleties of the French Revolution;—let him joust with them as he pleases in any mere intellectual tournament, let him sport them in any sphere that does not set abstractions against realities, our consciousness against our theology;—

Illa se jactat in aula
Æolus, et clauso ventorum carcere regnet.

But let them not break prison to burst like a Levanter, to sweep the earth with their hurricanes, and to break up the fountains of the great deep to overwhelm us.

Professor Tappan does not write in the spirit of a theological partisan, but in reference to his inquiries as to the system of Edwards on the Will, he properly observes that a moral and religious interest pertains to them, especially if any philosophical infidels have employed the psychology of Edwards to overthrow moral obligation. He remarks that though we may fancy that some favorite metaphysico-theological dogmas can be sustained only by this psychology, the true moralist and theologian will be more earnest to uphold the foundations of morality and religion than any particular speculations of secondary moment. Before proceeding to any notice of his argument, our readers we are sure will agree upon the value and justness of the thoughts in the following quotation from his third volume.

“In any age of the church, and in our age as well as in the preceding ages, a devout lover of truth, in examining any system of theology, is bound to inquire into its metaphysics separately from the gospel truths which it has incorporated. Since the Bible is not a system of philosophy, a mere quotation of its texts, or their incorporation, cannot be received in proof of a philosophy. We must take the Bible facts and affirmations in their pure simplicity,—and we must examine the metaphysics on its own legitimate grounds. We are bound as Christians to believe the words of Scripture wherever we find them, but we are not bound to believe the philosophy which a father or doctor in the church has seen fit to connect with them.

“The errors of past ages have imposed upon us a labor which otherwise might have been avoided. The gospel may be efficacious to salvation in entire separation from philosophical systems now, as

well as in the days of the Apostles ; but adopted as it now is, even by the unlearned and the mass of Christians, under the forms and articles of elaborated theological systems, if in these systems its integrity has been violated for the purpose of sustaining favorite dogmas, then we can detect and expose the evil only by exposing the false philosophy. Or suppose that the integrity of the truths and facts of the gospel be preserved, but that there be connected with them a philosophy directly hostile to them, and that the theologist in his zeal for the philosophy does not perceive this hostility, then again it becomes us to set forth this philosophy under its true colors. If we neglect to do this, we expose the inspired truths and facts to aspersion, and even to a seeming refutation, because we send them out in bad company. The infidel will receive your identification of the gospel with a certain philosophy, and then by overthrowing the philosophy claim to have overthrown the gospel ; or he may in common with yourself receive the philosophy, and then by carrying out its positions legitimately, direct it as a powerful artillery against the gospel. We have in the last supposition exactly described the bearing of a false psychology of the will upon the theology with which it has been connected."

In accordance with the spirit of these remarks, the truth of which we think no one can deny, Professor Tappan sets out in his work with a full statement of Edwards' system.

In regard to this, the only question that can be asked must be, Is it fairly drawn up ? We think it is ; and if he valued the success of his own argument he would not be likely to set out with a misstatement of Edwards, which it would be so easy for every man to detect. He then proceeds to state the legitimate *consequences* of the system of Edwards, the conclusions to which his reasoning conducts us. Certainly no man is to be blamed for doing this, and for doing it as faithfully as possible. Men may say that Edwards would have denied the legitimacy of those conclusions, or would have repelled them with abhorrence ; but that is not the point : do his principles involve them ? So would Locke have denied and abhorred the conclusions drawn from his philosophy and the purposes to which it was applied. But no man is to be blamed, or regarded as Locke's enemy, or the maligner of his reputation, who shows to what conclusions a rigid pursuit of his principles would lead us. You may say indeed that these evils were not in the mind of the propounders of such schemes, and that they are only incidental, and incidental only in the hands of evil-disposed persons, who will make the worst of them. But if the incidental evil tendencies of a scheme of philosophy are such as to outweigh all its good applications, how can it be the offspring of truth, and who can be conscien-

tious in adopting it? If the Arminian notions could be conquered only by a system that in the end would be turned against all religion, it were better to leave them alone. It is a melancholy policy, though history is full of it, for a king to hire foreign troops, or bands of mercenaries, who in the end will overrun his own state.

It cannot however be said that Edwards was unconscious of the tendency of his doctrines, or that he had not himself pursued them to their ultimate results. There are other portions of his writings besides his work on the Freedom of the Will, which present some of the most extraordinary passages in the annals of theology, and put to the blush the efforts of all modern diluters of his system. Men are undertaking a work of supererogation, when they seek to rebut the charge of fatalism as one of the tendencies of Edwards' work, since the author himself plainly avowed the opinion.

"It cannot be any injustice in God," says he, "to determine who is certainly to sin, and so certainly to be damned. For, if we suppose this impossibility, that God had not determined any thing, things would happen as fatally as they do now.—Wherefore, seeing things do unavoidably go fatally and necessarily, what injustice is it in the Supreme Being, seeing it is a contradiction that it should be otherwise, to decree that they should be as they are?"* Again: "That we should say that God has decreed every action of men, yea, every action that is sinful, and every circumstance of those actions; that he predetermines that they shall be in every respect as they afterwards are; that he determines that there shall be such actions, and just so sinful as they are; and yet that God does not decree the actions that are sinful as sin, but decrees them as good, is really consistent."†

Much more might be noted of the same tenor, particularly where he denies that the principle laid down by the apostle, that we may not do evil that good may come, is obligatory upon the Divine Being;‡ nor do we see why the great respect and veneration we all have for the admirable character of Edwards, both in mind and heart, should keep us from pronouncing these doctrines a monstrous deformity in any man's theological opinions. There is a wo pronounced in the Scriptures upon them that call evil good and good evil, that put darkness for light and light for darkness.

We will simply add a quotation by Dugald Stewart from the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, with a closing remark of his own:

* *Miscellaneous Observations*, 5. *Works*. Vol. VII.

† *Mis. Obs.* 8.

‡ *Mis. Obs.* 59.

"While the king (James second of Great Britain) was involved in the deepest distress, in consequence of the desertion of his army, and the success of the Prince of Orange, he was doomed to suffer from the conduct of his daughter, the Princess Anne (married to Prince George of Denmark), a species of distress still more severe. If heaven, in this world, ever interposes its avenging arm between guilt and happiness, may we not consider the loss of seventeen children as the penalty which it exacted from the mother, who had broken the heart of the most indulgent father: and as if this exaction had not been sufficiently severe, the infliction of the punishment PRECEDED the commission of the crime."

"If crimes and their appropriate punishments," says Mr. Stewart, "be both the effects of the absolute decrees of God, it is certainly not more inconsistent with his justice that the punishment should PRECEDE the crime, than follow after it."

The consequences of Edwards' system we think Professor Tappan has pressed fairly and logically; of this every reader may judge. They present a fearful array, but the deduction is as demonstrative as any part of Edwards' own argument. It may relieve such a deduction in some measure from the odium attached in many minds to any writer who pursues it, if we remind the reader that substantially the same course has been pursued by Dr. Clarke against Leibnitz and Collins, and by Dugald Stewart in his remarks on the doctrine of Necessity, and in his criticisms on Edwards, and some others of its advocates. And as the appendix to Stewart's *Philosophy* seems to have been unaccountably neglected, we shall here introduce one or two quotations of great interest on this subject.

"Every modern atheist I have ever heard of has been a Necessitarian. I cannot help adding that by far the ablest Necessitarians who have yet appeared have been those, who followed out their principles, till they ended in *Spinosism*; a doctrine which differs from atheism more in words than in reality."

"The argument for necessity drawn from the Divine Prescience is much insisted on both by Collins and Edwards; more especially by the latter, who undertakes to show that 'this foreknowledge infers a necessity of volition as much as an absolute decree.' On this argument I shall make but one remark, that, if it be conclusive, it only serves to identify still more the creed of the Necessitarians with that of the Spinosites. For if God certainly foresees all the volitions of his creatures, he must, for the same reason, foresee all his own future volitions; and if this foreknowledge infers a *necessity* of volition in the one case, how is it possible to avoid the same inference in the other?"

"I have already said that in the opinion of Clarke the scheme of necessity, when pushed to its logical consequences, must ultimately

terminate in Spinosism. It seems to have been the great aim of Collins to vindicate his favorite scheme from this reproach, and to retaliate upon the partisans of free will the charges of favoring atheism and immorality. In proof of this I have only to quote the account given by the author himself of the plan of his work.—In this view of the subject, and indeed in the very selection of his premises, it is remarkable how completely Collins has anticipated Dr. Jonathan Edwards, the most celebrated, and indisputably the ablest champion in later times of the scheme of Necessity. The coincidence is so perfect, that the outline given by the former of the plan of his work, might have served with equal propriety as a preface to that of the latter.—It is evident that Collins, one of the most obnoxious writers of his day to divines of all denominations, was not less solicitous than his successor Edwards, to reconcile his metaphysical notions with man's accountableness and moral agency. The remarks therefore of Clarke upon Collins' work are equally applicable to that of Edwards. It is to be regretted that they seem never to have fallen into the hands of this very acute and candid reasoner.—I am afraid that Edwards' book, however well meant, has done much harm in England, as it has secured a favorable hearing to the same doctrines which, since the time of Clarke, had been generally ranked among the most dangerous errors of Hobbes and his disciples."

The legitimate consequences which Professor Tappan has traced from Edwards' system, have by no means been confined to theory. "Remorse," says Mr. Belsham, the bold Socinian advocate of the doctrine of Necessity, "is the exquisitely painful feeling which arises from the belief that in circumstances precisely the same we might have chosen and acted differently. This *fallacious* feeling is superseded by the doctrine of Necessity. Remorse supposes free will. It arises from forgetfulness of the precise state of mind when the action was performed."

We have made these remarks thus far simply to bespeak a favorable hearing to a writer who has the independence in these days and in this country to appear in opposition to the system of Edwards. It is impossible to go greatly into detail respecting the merits of Professor Tappan's work, but we are convinced that so far as the main argument goes, he has conducted it with such fairness and acuteness, that it will be no easy task to meet him on the ground he has taken. The time has come when the advocates of Edwards' system will have to do something more than compose commentaries upon their master's book. The change in the prevailing psychological system of the age, which we believe is rapidly going on, will leave the defenders of the scheme of necessity ashore upon the barren reefs and sand banks

they have moored upon, where some better aliment than keen and subtile logic will be requisite for their subsistence.

Professor Tappan's work consists of three parts or volumes; the first containing his review of Edwards, the second his own system on the will, and the third the application of this doctrine to moral agency and responsibility. In writing on this particular subject of the will, he has the merit of having excogitated, in truth, a psychological system; that being the ground on which he meets Edwards, and professes to have demonstrated the system of liberty in opposition to that of necessity. He is a candid, fearless, manly and pleasing writer, his style being one of simplicity and beauty, his illustrations pertinent and forcible, and his views on some most important metaphysical points, eminently clear and original. This is the case particularly with his treatment of the subject of cause, his development of the nature of cause, of the source of our own idea of causality, and of the nature of the will in us as the only free agency and causality of our being. We doubt if any other metaphysical writer can be found in our language, who has discussed this oftentimes perplexed and difficult subject with such clear and satisfactory results. We wish that those who are inclined to think that no advancement can be made in psychological science in any other direction than that taken by Edwards, would ponder some few of Professor Tappan's chapters.

We think there are four important points in which the argument of Edwards has been shown by Professor Tappan to be deficient, or built on false assumptions. First of all, by consent even of the defenders of Edwards' system, he has confounded the will and the affections. He makes but two faculties of the mind, the understanding and the will; the will and the affections are identified, and this identification is the foundation of his whole argument that the will is always and necessarily as the strongest motive. There is certainly this sophism; that of concluding that as the strongest motive, which precedes the mind's determination; the sophism of passing over the act of power, the act of the will as cause, to the score of the motive. This act of power, this sanction of the will is needed to make it the strongest motive, and in this sense the assertion that the will is always as the strongest motive, is only that the will is always as the will's determination.

The second point in which the argument of Edwards is arraigned as defective, is its confusion between cause and motive, cause

and occasion. In Professor Tappan's view the will itself is cause; it is *the* cause of its own volitions. The principle of causality is in the mind, and there and nowhere else is the source of it. We are ourselves cause, and we are ourselves power, and hence alone we derive these ideas. Edwards makes the motive to be cause. The causality of the mind, according to his system, is motive; the *strongest* motive is the mind's causality. But as, according to his system, the strongest motive is as the affections, and the affections and the will are the same, it comes really to this, even in his scheme, that the will is the mind's causality.

President Day observes on this point, that if external motives are in any proper sense the cause of a man's volitions, they are so in a very different way from that in which the agent himself is the cause of them. But if the motive be the cause, then the agent cannot be. On this subject Dugald Stewart has written with great clearness.

"Although," says he, "we grant this general proposition, that for every action there must be a motive, it certainly does not follow from it that man is a necessary agent. The question is not concerning the *influence* of motives, but concerning the *nature* of that influence. The advocates for necessity represent it as the influence of a cause in producing its effect. The advocates for liberty acknowledge that the motive is the *occasion* of acting, or the reason for acting; but contend that it is so far from being the efficient cause of it, that it supposes the efficiency to exist elsewhere, namely, in the mind of the agent. Between these two opinions there is an essential distinction. The one represents man merely as a passive instrument. According to the other he is really an *agent*, and the sole author of his own actions. He acts indeed from motives, but he has the power of choice among different ones. When he acts from a particular motive, it is not because this motive is *stronger* than others, but because he *willed* to act in this way. Indeed, it may be questioned if the word strength conveys any idea when applied to motive. It is obviously an analogical or metaphorical expression, borrowed from a class of phenomena essentially different."——"Whatever may be the nature of the relation between a motive and an action, there is no reason for concluding it to be at all analogous to that between a cause and its effect."

The third point on which the logic of Edwards is set aside by Professor Tappan, is the confusion between necessity and certainty. Hence arises the argument of Edwards that no future event can be certainly foreknown, whose existence is contingent, and without all necessity. An event of which there is certain foreknowledge is a *necessary* event. But this does not

follow; and the sophism can be maintained only by this confounding of the terms and the ideas. An event of which there is certain foreknowledge is a *certain* event, but that is all we can say. It may be necessary, and it may be contingent, and whether necessary or contingent, it may be foreknown with equal certainty; but certainty does not constitute necessity, though the argument of Edwards proceeds on this assumption.

The fourth point is analogous, the confounding of contingency with chance. Edwards assumes that contingency signifies something which has absolutely no ground or reason with which its existence has any fixed and certain connection. So President Day regards the system of Edwards' opponents as a system of fortuitous volition. But this is not the case. Such volitions are not contended for, but volitions which have their true and proper cause in the will, as the mind's causality. In maintaining contingency or freedom of the will, chance is not contended for, nor the absence of cause, but the absence of necessity. Edwards' argument continually proceeds on the false assumption that there is no medium between necessity and chance, and that the doctrine of self-determination or contingency is chance.

We may name a fifth point, and that is, the *petitio principii*, involved in Edwards' definition of liberty, namely, power to conduct according to one's choice, *without considering how that choice was produced or caused*. That choice may have been necessarily connected with something foregoing, that was wholly out of the mind's power; but this makes no difference. This was Hobbes' definition, and that of all the later necessitarians. Now if this be granted, then indeed liberty and necessity are consentaneous. A wicked choice may have been constituted by the necessary correlation of the mind with an antecedent out of its power, but so long as the man is able to act according to that choice, he is free. All *before* the volition is necessity, but all *after* it is freedom. According to this, Belsham was perfectly right in asserting blameworthiness to have no place, and remorse to be fallacious. We may be bad, but not blameworthy. A machine for pain and cruelty is a horribly bad machine, but where is the guilt of it? If we are first so *constituted*, and secondly so *placed*, that volitions are necessary or impossible,—necessary in reference to a particular object of desire or course of action, from which we are commanded to refrain, or impossible in reference to one which yet we

are commanded to pursue,—we may be very bad, and yet not blameworthy. One wheel, as the water races past it, turns a spinning factory, another turns the machinery of a distillery. One mind under the current of motive desolates an empire; another blesses it; they are the same.

Edwards' definition of liberty shuts a man up to necessity, and was intended to do so. And united with his denial of any self-determining power, it excludes blame and praiseworthiness from the universe, and legitimates all the array of consequences drawn up by Professor Tappan in the train of Edwards' argument. If any thing out of the man determines his will, beyond doubt it is not *his* determination. He is neither to blame for it nor praiseworthy. And if any thing within the man apart from and above his will, and over which his will has no authority, or against which it has no power, determines his will, then he is neither blame nor praiseworthy. The state of his mind is either owing to the determination of his will, or it is not. If it is not, then it is no part of his personal responsibility any more than it is of the responsibility of a whale or an elephant whether to be constructed with tusks or teeth, or without them. If it is, then it is the *self-determination* of his will, or a determination by something out of his will. If by something out of his will, then this is by consent and co-operation of his will, or it is not. If not, then again it has nothing to do with his personal responsibility, for it is nothing on which he, as a responsible agent, decides. But if by consent of his will, then this consent is that of a power overlooking and superior to the influence out of the will, the lord of circumstances, and not their slave, namely, it is *self-consent* and *self-determination*. If not, it is a consent produced by something superior to his will, and over which his will has no power, and therefore again, in regard to which he has no responsibility, and therefore neither is blame nor praiseworthy. This argument we might pursue *ad infinitum*, with all the power of the "infinite series" of Edwards himself.

The will is always as the strongest motive. Admit this; but still it is the *self-determination* of the will in *view* of that motive, or the man has no more responsibility in regard to his own volitions, than in regard to the action of fire when applied to the body; no more than the leaf of a sensitive plant when it shrinks from the touch, or turns towards the light. If there be any determination of the will, which is not, at the same time, *self-determination*, it destroys accountability and makes man a

machine. If the reason absolutely, invariably, infallibly, necessarily, impels the man, then the responsibility is thrown back on the cause why the reason is so and so, and not otherwise. If the reason has come to its present state by a cause or causes apart from the will, it is not a man's own responsibility. But if by consent, co-operation, or determination of the will, then again, it is *self-determination* or not. If not, it is something out of the will, and the responsibility is thrown upon that and the cause of it. Or if the *affections* irresistibly, invariably, infallibly, necessarily, impel the will, the responsibility is thrown over from the will upon the affections, and we must inquire the cause why the affections are so and so, and not otherwise. If the affections have come to their present state without consent, co-operation, or determination of the will, then the man has no responsibility. But if otherwise, then it must have been a *self-determination* or not. If not, then some other cause above the will must have moved its consent to the state of the affections, and the whole responsibility is thrown over upon that cause.

Edwards himself sometimes lays down a principle that contains the whole argument of the advocates of freedom. "When a thing is from a man in that sense that it is from his will or choice, he is to blame for it because his will is in it. *So far as the will is in it, blame is in it, and no farther.*" Remain here, and the whole argument is conceded. But then Edwards adds the element of necessity to his definition of liberty; *there must be "no consideration of the original of that bad will,* because, according to our natural apprehension, *blame originally consists in it."*—"The state or act of the will may be the virtue of the subject, though it be not from self-determination, but the determination of an intrinsic cause;" (and of course a cause introduced and set agoing apart from the will;) *even so as to cause the event to be morally necessary to the subject of it."*

The reason which Edwards here gives for "not considering the original of that bad will," is very curious; "because, according to our natural apprehension, blame originally consists in it;" that is, our consciousness tells us that we are free agents, and therefore that the origin of evil is in our own will. We are *so formed* as to believe that we are free agents, and that answers every purpose. We are restricted from going back of that natural belief, because the original of that evil will transcends both our power and consciousness, and would lead to the

breaking up of this delusive sense of freedom. In what respect is this different from Lord Kames' hypothesis of a *deceitful sense of liberty*? Nay, Edwards gives the reason for this natural constitution. "It was meet, if sin did come into existence, and appear in the world, it should arise from the imperfection which properly belongs to a creature, as such, *and should appear so to do*, that it might not appear to be from God, as the efficient or fountain."—"If sin had not arisen from the imperfection of the creature, it would not have been *so visible*, that it did not arise from God, as the positive cause and real source of it."

Surely this is strange reasoning; who could have conceived it possible for the mind of Edwards to adopt it? Look at it closely, "before and after." The creature sins from necessity. He has, it is true, the sense, the consciousness of liberty. But it will not do to look behind this consciousness, behind the will, because it will be found delusive, there being in that direction a gulf of necessity that swallows up all things; a set of springs, that, apart from the will, and prior to it, govern the whole machinery of existence. But at the same time, to shield the Deity from the charge of being the author of sin, a second cause must be constituted, namely, *the imperfection which properly belongs to the creature*, and a delusive idea of freedom must be constituted along with that prearranged imperfection, or else it will be difficult to make it visible that sin does "not arise from God, as the positive cause and real source of it!" This singular expression, *the imperfection which properly belongs to the creature*, taken in connection with the preceding reasoning, seems to us to accomplish the very evil, which the writer was anxious to avoid. It represents the Deity as acting under the prior necessity of having sin "come into existence, and appear in the world," and then, conformably to that necessity, constituting a creature of such imperfection, that sin would surely and inevitably come into being in that way. If this be indeed the origin of evil, the supporters of such a theory, may as well make thorough work in their argument, and boldly affirm that the necessity for it was a necessity in the divine existence and eternity, and no more to be arraigned, questioned, prevented, or rebelled against, than the rigid and awful postulate, *WHATEVER IS, IS*.

The great question as to liberty and necessity is connected *a parte ante* with the divine character, and *a parte post* with human conduct. According to the side which men take, it

exerts a practical influence, even though they cannot agree in their definitions of the terms. But let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter. The only freedom which we do not possess naturally, is the liberty with which Christ makes his people free, and until men gain that, neither life nor liberty can be considered as a blessing. And although men cannot settle it metaphysically, whether they are imprisoned or not, yet if they be good, it is, at the worst, as good as if they were not; but if they be bad, it is, at the best, as bad as if they were. There were once some birds, Goethe tells us, who lived in a spacious aviary. A bullfinch said to his neighbor the goldfinch, who was gayly fluttering from bush to bush, "Do you know, friend, that we are shut up in a cage?" "What do you talk of a cage," said the goldfinch; "see how we fly about! That is a cage, indeed, in which my neighbor canary is sitting." "But I tell you we are in a cage too. Don't you see there the wire grating?" "Yes, I see one there, certainly; but look, as far as I can see on every side there is none." "You cannot see to all sides." "No more can you." "But consider then," continued the bullfinch, "does not our master bring us water every morning, and put it in our trough, and strow seed on the ground? Would he do that, if he did not know that we are shut up, and cannot fly where we will?" "But," said the goldfinch, "I tell you I can fly where I will."

Thus they disputed for a long time, till at length the canary called out from his corner: "Children, if you cannot settle it whether you are in a cage not, it's just as good as if you were not in one."

In the third volume of Professor Tappan's work, he gives an exhibition of the doctrine of the will viewed in connection with the Bible, which some will regard as one of the most just and valuable portions of the treatise. The author connects with it an exposition of three theories on the subject of election, of which we must record our decided disapprobation of the first, and our preference for the second. Our remarks have run already to such a length, that we shall not go into the statement of these theories, but only say that we regard the first as lying open to some serious objections on account of its *super-scriptural* refinements, which the author could have preferred only out of an over anxiety to make it very evident that the doctrine of election harmonizes with the doctrine of the will; a fact, which most happily neither they on the one side nor the other of this controversy are at all disposed to doubt. We prefer the second

theory, because, holding closer to the Scriptures, it throws us more humbly and absolutely upon God's all-merciful and sovereign grace. The doctrine of election is one, about which we are less inclined to theorize, than on any other subject. We love the explicitness of the Bible, and are well content with its exhibition there.

Professor Tappan observes (and we think rather unguardedly, because an opponent, and even a casual reader, would take more from the observation than the writer means to convey), that "the determination of our will by the divine will, interpenetrating it, appears as little consistent with freedom, as a necessary determination by the strongest motive." The writer must have had some material analogy in his own mind connected with this phraseology, or he would not have used it; but if not, what then becomes of freedom in the case of the Holy Spirit "exerting his coincident regenerating influences to *secure* the coincident act of the human personality," which Professor Tappan exhibits as a part of that theory which he seems himself to prefer? There is as much freedom in the one case, as in the other.

After all, the *manner* in which the Divine Being *works in us, to will and to do*, without infringing in the least on our most perfect and absolute free agency, is a mystery, and for the present must remain so. We shall, in the celestial world, know a great deal more about psychology, than we do here in the cave of Plato; and just now it is impossible, on the subject of election, to be wise above that which is written. Two passages of Scripture, which we confess we greatly admire and love, are so explicit, that they contain the whole doctrine, to our heart's content, and to the silencing of every objection: "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God who worketh in you, both to will and to do."—"According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy, and without blame before him in love, having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the Beloved." Professor Tappan, we are glad to know, accepts these passages with all heartiness, in their fullest extent, and therefore we wish that in one or two paragraphs he had been more careful in avoiding the possibility of any misconstruction of his views.

Professor Tappan has chosen a difficult and thorny path of

metaphysical investigation ; there are lions in the way that few men are willing to encounter. We believe he has the truth on his side, and a most frank and honest heart in pursuing it, though,—if he adopts the refinements of the second theory above noticed as his own,—with some little mixture of error. The truth is of the highest importance, and there are critical vultures enough to pounce upon the error, if once they find that the truth is attracting notice. It surely will, for these investigations deserve all the attention that their author asks for them. There are some persons whose nature makes it impossible that they should come to such speculations except with the very spirit which Professor Tappan deprecates ; but no matter for that ; time is a great and impartial friend, and God is greater ; trusting to whom no man need have his temper ruffled or his ardor cooled in the pursuit of truth.

“ I ask,” says Professor Tappan, “ that no one will meet arguments advanced in no spirit of partisanship, with the eager zeal of such a spirit : and that, as I have arrayed myself under the banner of no great leader in the schools of philosophy or theology, so also that I may not be either honored or anathematized by the application of his name. I have sought for truth independently, as I had a right to do : I have published my results, as I had a right to do : and I cheerfully take upon me all the responsibility which fairly attaches to the proceeding.”

Ora, et labora ! Continue to trust in the “ divine power and quiet majesty of truth,” though still, if need be, “ without patronage and without defence.” In speculations on the will there is danger of growing misanthropic. A man who deserves well of the public is very apt to think the public ungrateful towards him ; but alas ! men are still more neglectful of the truth than of him who proposes it. We often think of that beautiful colloquy, which Coleridge once wrote, and we believe almost *impromptu*, and we shall take the liberty to close with it, in the full and sad conviction that there is no degeneracy more common in this world-worshipping age and community, than that of making greatness and goodness *means* instead of *ends*.

How seldom, friend ! a good great man inherits
Honor or wealth, with all his worth and pains !
It sounds like stories from the land of spirits,
If any man obtain that which he merits,
Or any merit that which he obtains.

REPLY.

For shame, dear friend! renounce this canting strain.
 What wouldst thou have a good great man obtain?
 Place? Title? Salary? A gilded chain?
 Or throne of corses, which his sword hath slain?
 Greatness and goodness are not *means*, but *ends*!
 Hath he not always treasures, always friends,
 The good great man? Three treasures, Love and Light,
 And calm Thoughts, regular as an infant's breath!
 And three firm friends, more sure than day and night,
 Himself, his Maker, and the Angel Death.

ARTICLE VIII.

ANCIENT AND MODERN GREECE.*

ATHENS AND ATTICA; *Journal of a Residence there. By the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College; Head Master of Harrow School, &c.* John Murray, London.
A Short Visit to the Ionian Islands, Athens, and the Morea. By Edward Gifford, Esq., of Pemb. Coll., Oxon. A. & W. Galigani, Paris.

UNTIL quite recently, the difficulties to one visiting Greece were such as to deter the great mass of foreign travellers from making the attempt. Whoever advanced beyond the generally understood limits of the "grand tour," and found his way to the land where the stolid Moslem kept guard over the sacred remains of ancient art, received credit for some classical enthusiasm, a profound sympathy with antiquity, and much of the earnest and reverential spirit which Pliny, speaking of the same land, recommends to his friend Maximus: "Cogita, te missum in provinciam Achaïam, illam veram et meram Greciam, in qua primum humanitas, literæ, etiam fruges, inventæ esse creduntur.

**** Reverere gloriam veterem, et hanc ipsam senectutem, quæ in homine venerabilis, in urbibus sacra est. Sit apud te honor antiquitate, sit ingentibus factis, sit fabulis quoque."

* We regret that we are not allowed to give the name of the writer of this review. It is from the pen of a professor in one of the colleges of New England, who has himself visited the scenes which he describes, and whose personal observation, as well as his previous classical research, gives to his representations a freshness and an authority, which greatly enhance their interest and value.—ED.

At present the obstacles to the traveller are few, the facilities many, and yearly on the increase. Twice every month a steam packet leaves Falmouth for Gibraltar, Malta, Corfu and Alexandria. Three times a month, the French government steamboats leave Marseilles for the ports of Italy, Malta, Athens, Constantinople and Alexandria. Austrian boats from Trieste come down the Adriatic, encircle the Morea, and rest in the Bosphorus, and still other companies ply their diligent vessels between the different ports of the Archipelago and the Levant; so that even an American scholar might make a pretty satisfactory tour in Greece without greatly lengthening his annual vacation or deranging his ordinary occupations.

"Having been medically advised," says Mr. Gifford in his introduction, "to pass a couple of months of the last winter [1837] in a more southern climate, and particularly recommended to begin by a sea voyage,—the facilities which steam communication now affords of navigating the Mediterranean, and the hope of being able to combine the main object of health with the gratification of an ardent desire to visit the classical scenes of Greece, determined me and Mr. Newton—a college friend, and unfortunately a fellow sufferer—to direct our course that way."

Within three months they had made the voyage, had visited the most interesting parts of the country, had suffered the detention of quarantine, and reached England again in safety. The plain and truthful narrative which he has presented of "what he was enabled to see," possesses an interest and value far above that of many sketches written with greater pretensions.

The "Journal" of Mr. Wordsworth is of a more learned character, and must be chiefly interesting to scholars, as illustrating by frequent quotations and delicate criticisms, the ancient classics. It is our intention to use both of these works, which we have not seen republished in America, to give our readers some insight into the present condition of Greece and its antiquities.

In less than three weeks after leaving England, the packet in which Mr. Gifford and his fellow traveller had embarked, anchored in Patras Roads; but as this was not her final destination, the anchor was weighed the next morning and the boat stood on to Corfu. As a warning to future travellers, Mr. Gifford mentions that had they landed at Patras and commenced the tour of the Morea immediately, a week of precious time might have been saved. As it was, they began their observations

with the scenes of the *Odyssey*, and the capital of the Ionian Republic, Corfu.

"We were on a sea and amongst islands and shores celebrated from the earliest dawn of classical poetry. *** The scenes of the first *travels*, of which there exists even a mythological record, were before us—we were in the regions of the *Odyssey*. *** We soon reached the narrow channel, about four miles wide and sixteen long, which divides Ithaca and Cephalonia; the latter is tolerably cultivated, but not (at least in this view) pretty; but for the other—alas! we, like former travellers, could not help feeling something like vexation at finding the island of Ulysses the most barren spot we ever beheld. For the whole length of the island, scarce a shrub or blade of grass was to be seen; and one might be tempted to attribute the long absence of Ulysses less to the adverse fates than to his good taste." Giffard p. 32.

Running on by Cape Viscardo, and then by Santa Maura or Leucadia,—“the gigantic *headstone* over the watery grave of poor Sappho,”—they cast anchor at midnight in the harbor of Corfu.

“Beautiful! I exclaimed, when, early next morning, I saw Corfu; and my exclamation was in the superlative, most beautiful! when I became better acquainted with it. The roadstead, or rather bay, is completely land-locked; surrounded on three sides by the island, and on the other by the main land, with only narrow exits to the north and south, not visible from the harbor itself.

The opposite coast of Albania, the fortifications of the island of Vido; the citadel of Corfu, built on two precipitous rocks running out into the sea; the palace of the Lord High Commissioner (or as he is styled in common parlance the *Lord High*); the town itself, and the distant mountains of the island, form a splendid panoramic view.” p. 35.

Corfu is the capital of the Republic of the Ionian Islands and under the protection (i. e. power) of Great Britain. The immense fortifications form another of those strong points which England has obtained in the four quarters of the world; one of those three stations in the Mediterranean which give the rule of that great sea to the English.

On a visit to the *Lord High's* country seat, the travellers say, “we could not but remark the similarity of the scenery to that described by Homer, through which Ulysses, a stranger like ourselves, sought the abode of the *Lord High* of his day.

At length he took the passage to the wood,
Whose shady honors on a rising brow
Waved high and frowned upon the stream below, etc. *Odys.* v. 475.

The exactness of these local portraits, and especially the *sail of Ulysses* [a rock which, from the harbor, has the appearance of a sail], are, it must be admitted, strongly in favor of the general opinion of the identity of Scheria and Corfu. Indeed, if the common opinion be correct, hereabout might be the site of the celebrated garden of Alcinoüs, which—although it seems to have been only a fruit and kitchen garden—Homer describes as being surrounded by natural beauties of the kind we saw before us.”

After eight days spent at Corfu the packet took them again to Patras, where they landed on the shores of the Morea. For the sum of twelve dollars a boat was hired to take them to Corinth, stopping a day at Scala de Salona, in order to allow time to visit Delphi. We can afford but a brief space to extracts, but will copy a short account of the visit to the ancient fountain of the Muses.

“The next morning was very fine, and having ordered our horses the preceding evening, we started for Parnassus at six o’clock, but certainly none of the steeds resembled Pegasus, or perhaps, indeed, the whole story of Pegasus may be an allegory to convey a plain truth, that to get over such roads horses would have need of wings. Just before we arrived at Delphi, we saw several ancient tombs, excavated from the rock, on either side of the path: they are chiefly single, but one we entered had been the last resting place of three persons. On passing through a rudely arched doorway, we found ourselves in a chamber with a sarcophagus on either side, and a third in front; over each was a small niche in the wall for a lamp or figure; the covers were gone, and there was nothing to be seen within but the stone pillars for the heads of the deceased. Delphi is situated some five or six miles up the sides of the mountain range which, about eight or ten miles farther, terminates in the summit of Parnassus; but Delphi, contrary to the received opinion, has little local connection with Parnassus, properly so called, and is not even in sight of it. * * * The general aspect of the village proved the accuracy of Pausanius’ description of the site of the ancient town; it is built on terraces of masonry, rising above one another in regular gradation, and having all the features of great antiquity. On the right, as you enter the village, are the foundation walls of an old temple, forming a square of about one hundred yards each way, in the centre of which stands a miserable Greek church, dedicated I believe to St. Elias. Advancing from this we entered the village, and having put up our horses, were guided first to the amphitheatre, an immense work, whose seats, hollowed out of the rock, are still almost perfect; thence to the *Castalian Spring*, which rises at the foot of what have been so long celebrated as the double peaks of Parnassus; but in fact, as I have said, the summit of Parnassus, properly so called, is some miles off, and not even visible, being concealed by a bare precipitous rock, which rises immediately behind the fountain, one hundred or

one hundred and fifty feet in height, up the face of which extends a rugged cleft that at the top separates the rock into two sharpish peaks, which though of a height comparatively insignificant, hide, by means of their proximity, the rest of the mountain, and are commonly but erroneously called the double head of Parnassus; for the mountain itself, which we saw from several points, has nothing like a double summit. * * * The Castalian spring itself appears in the unpoetical shape of a parallelogram, which has obviously been formed for the purpose of a bath (a very shallow one), in which, as we read, the Pythia performed her ablutions before she ascended the sacred tripod." pp. 60, 63.

"Returning from a visit to some tombs, we passed a labyrinth of massy walls and fragments of pillars sufficient, we thought, for a dozen temples, but which our guide said was the site and remains of the great temple of Apollo; another mass he called the tomb of *Kronos*. We, not knowing that Father Time, our ancient enemy, was buried here, or indeed that he was dead, inquired who *Kronos* was; when the guide reminded us that we had forgotten for the moment the ancient name of *Saturn*, by stating that *Kronos* was a king who ate his own children, and was at last deposed by them. It was interesting to find this tradition of so ancient a fable on the very spot where the most ancient of poets lays the scene—for, no doubt, the story alluded to by our guide is the same told by Hesiod, in his *Theogony*." p. 66.

Few things are more interesting to the traveller in the East than to detect in the popular traditions the remains of primitive fables, and to find in the names of places, as Dr. Robinson and Mr. Smith were enabled to in Palestine, a living testimony to the truth of ancient writers. And it is one of the circumstances which strikes us at first with the greatest surprise, that the spoken word, the invisible sound, should be more permanent than the stone walls which it designated. These have crumbled, and their dust has been blown away, but *it* remains rooted in the mind of the race. Another night brought the travellers to Corinth, "a mass of ruin and desolation," and another day to Calimachi on the lovely bay of Cenchrea, where they embarked in a boat for Athens, now as anciently "the eye of Greece," the centre of interest to a traveller, and the seat of government.

"About sunset we were off Eleusis, and on the waters which had witnessed the destruction of the Persian fleet in the battle of Salamis. The manœuvre, by which we are told the enemy's fleet was put into confusion and the victory won, is easily understood on the spot, where the impossibility of even twenty ships working is manifest, and the confusion which the light Grecian galleys caused, by the rapidity of their attack, upon the crowded fleet of the Persians, rendered all attempt at restoring order in so narrow a strait, perfectly vain." p. 76.

The traveller's interest in Athens is undivided ; it settles altogether in the antiquities. No exhibitions of modern art attract him, as in Rome ; no architectural splendor of the middle ages ; no crowded streets and frowning palaces of a modern city win him from the thought of the ancient empire. The Thescion, the Parthenon, enshrining the spirit of beauty and order, bind him by their genial influences, while he is there, and form the subject of his recollections when he has departed. In the remains of their art too, he reads, as in a book, the character of the people ; superstitious, fickle, quick, and clear-minded, lovers of pleasure, of beauty, of grace, their buildings are consecrated to gods or heroes, or the delight of the people, of a form and design so severely simple and clear, as to be at once recognized and comprehended ; so beautiful in proportion, so perfect in execution, so rich yet simple in ornament, that after the lapse of more than two thousand years they remain still the unrivalled models of the artist ; and Ictinus and Phidias walk hand in hand with Homer and Sophocles. The *kind* of remains is as peculiar and national as their literature. They are temples, theatres and private monuments. There are no triumphal arches, as at Rome, under which captive trains from Africa, Scythia and Gaul were made to pass,—no Coliseum where those captives butchered each other “to make a *Grecian* holiday,”—no vast paved military highways, over which the armies marched to fresh conquests—the road to Marathon is a path over the rocks ; no baths of Titus, no Adrian's villa, vast amorphous piles of brick, to tell of luxury, boundless indulgence, barbarian magnificence. Roman works, wherever we find them, fill us with ideas of the *state*, of the vast power, wealth and energy of a mighty empire, of war and conquests, and their attendants. The works of Greece betray the feelings of *individuals*, the subtle and acute *mind* of a versatile people, and fill us with ideas of superlative fitness, order and beauty. The distance of Athens from the Peiræus is about six miles, the road is one of the very few in Greece laid out for carriages, and an omnibus plies regularly between the two places. The Acropolis is visible for most of the distance. Indeed it is the beacon to the traveller who comes to Athens by the Ægean or the Gulf of Salamis, while still far off upon the water ; and the patron goddess of the city might, from a thousand different and distant points in Attica, be present to the eye of the ancient Greek, and seem to take immediate cognizance of his vows.

“Athens stands on a bed of hard limestone rock, in most places thinly covered by a meagre surface of soil. From this surface the rock itself frequently projects, and almost always is visible; protruded like the bones under the integuments of an emaciated body, to which Plato has compared it. Athenian ingenuity suggested, and Athenian dexterity has realized the adaptation of such a soil to architectural purposes. In the rocky soil itself walls have been hewn, pavements levelled, steps and seats chiselled, cisterns excavated, and niches scooped; almost every object that in a simpler state of society would be necessary either for public or private fabrics, was thus, as it were, quarried in the soil of the city itself.” Wordsworth, p. 63.

The traveller, unless prepared beforehand, is apt to be disappointed in the appearance of the city. The houses are small, low and ruinous,—the streets narrow, crooked and unpaved. But these are difficulties which every year will help to remove, and after the first disappointment, the eye will seek its gratification in the antiquities, where it will find food for its amplest desires.

The first public building which meets one who approaches from the Peiræus is the beautiful temple of Theseus. It stands alone, a little without the modern city, and is the most perfect specimen of an ancient Grecian temple which exists; no thanks to Lord Elgin, if it be true, as Dr. Clarke states, that it was spared because the metopes had become too much worn by the weather to pay for the expense of their removal. This beautiful building was at once a temple and a tomb, the remains of Theseus, real or supposed, having been brought by Cimon from the isle of Scyros. The pillars, of the Doric order, are all standing, and show no marks of violence except the singular one, that some of the concentric layers of marble have by some means been so turned that the grooves do not correspond, but the angle of one layer comes over the groove of the layer which is below it. Over the whole, time has thrown a delicate golden veil entirely different from the black incrustation which marble acquires by exposure in our inhospitable climate. “Perhaps, to this warm color,” says an old traveller, “Plutarch refers, when he affirms of the structures of Pericles, that a certain freshness bloomed upon them, and preserved their faces uninjured, as if they possessed a never-fading spirit and had a soul insensible to age.”

The cella of the temple is at present appropriated as a museum for the antiquities which have recently been, or may be discovered. Some of the inscriptions which have been brought to

light by recent investigations are of much interest to the scholar, as well as to the antiquarian. We quote a few illustrations from Mr. Gifford.

"Among the novelties were a sarcophagus, of which one side is finished with flowers of the most delicate sculpture; a figure of an orator, in alto-relievo, wanting the head, but the attitude and drapery fine, and a pretty monumental group of three figures, in which a lady is represented as taking something from the hands of a female slave, while a tottering baby is supporting itself by holding her knees. The group is easy, graceful, and natural, and the inscription is no less so:

Ενθαδε την αγαθην και σωφρονα γαλ εκάλυψεν
ΑΡΚΕΣΤΡΑΤΗΝ ἀρδρι ποθεινοτατην,

of which this is, I am aware, a very poor translation; "here the earth has covered Archestrate, the virtuous and modest, by her husband most beloved and regretted." There is no expression in the English language, that I have been able to think of, which adequately represents the Greek word *ποθεινοτατην*. Amidst the thousand fragments here collected, two inscriptions struck us particularly. We had not time in our first visit to decipher more than a few leading words, which excited our curiosity; but on revisiting the temple with Mr. Pittakys [the inspector of antiquities], he gave us a fuller explanation. The one lately found in the mud of the harbor, is an account of the shipping and stores in the Athenian arsenal at a particular period. The other, found in 1829 in the church of St. Irene (supposed to be the Peiræan temple of Vesta), is still more curious, and will probably when fully deciphered afford valuable information. It seems to be an account of the building of the Long Walls, under the superintendence of Themistocles. It is carved on two marble slabs, of which the exterior margins are much defaced, but the middle is tolerably perfect, and enough of the beginning is legible to explain the general subject.

[**] ΕΛΘΕΝΤΩΙΑΗΜΩΙ
***** ΤΟΥΑΣΤΕΛΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΩΣΚΑΙΤΑΜΑΚΡΑ
ΤΕΙΧΗΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥ*****ΤΩΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝΕΙΣΤΟΝ
ΑΠΑΝΤΑΚΡΟΝΟΝ*****

κ. τ. λ.

IT APPEARED TO THE PEOPLE *****
OF THE CITY AND OF THE PEIRÆUS AND THE LONG WALLS
ERECT ***** OF THE ATHENIANS TO ALL TIME AND *****

Towards the middle of the first column, distinguished by larger letters, the name of Themistocles is conspicuous with that of the archon of the year:

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΕΚΚΗΛΩΝ *** ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΛΥΧΟΥ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ

THEMISTOCLES SUPERINTENDING***AND AUTOLYCHUS ARCHON." p. 84

The Athenians, like the modern French and Italians, were accustomed to spend much time in the open air; hence the meanness of their private dwellings; hence too the fact that many of their temples and their theatres were uncovered, or covered only by an awning, and their places of public business were entirely in the open air. One of the most interesting of these spots consecrated by ancient genius, is the *Pnyx*, of which we take the description from Wordsworth.

"The Pnyx was part of the surface of a low rocky hill, at the distance of a quarter of a mile to the west of the central rock of the Acropolis; and at about half that distance S. W. of the centre of the Areopagus hill. The Pnyx may be best described as an area formed by the segment of a circle, which, as it is very nearly equal to a semicircle, for the sake of conciseness we shall assume to be such. The radius of this semicircle varies from about sixty to eighty yards. It is on a sloping ground, which shelves down very gently toward the hollow of the ancient Agora which was at its foot on the N. E. The chord of this semicircle is the highest part of this slope; the middle of its arc is the lowest; and this last point of the curve is cased by a terrace wall of huge polygonal blocks, and of about fifteen feet in depth at the centre, which prevents the soil of the slope from lapsing down into the valley of the Agora beneath it. From its being thus consolidated, and, as it were *condensed* (*πυκνουμένη*) by the upward pressure of these massive stones, the Pnyx derived its name. This massive wall is probably coeval with the birth of oratory at Athens. The chord of the semicircle is formed by a line of rock vertically hewn, so as to present to the spectator, standing in the area, the face of a flat wall. In the middle point of this wall of rock, and projecting from, and applied to it, is a solid rectangular block, hewn from the same rock. This was the Bema or rostra from which the speakers in the assembly of the Pnyx addressed the audience who occupied the semicircular area before them."

This Bema formerly stood about twenty-five yards behind its present position, at a point where the orator commanded a view of the sea, but was removed by the Thirty Tyrants to its present position where the land only can be seen.

"This was the throne from which the 'Olympian Pericles' fulminated over Greece. The Athenian orator spoke from a block of bare stone; his audience sat before him on a blank and open field.*** The Pnyx, from its position and its openness, supplied the orator who spoke there, with sources of eloquence influencing himself, and objects of appeal acting on his audience, which no other place of a similar object, not even the Roman Forum, has ever paralleled in number or interest.

"First of all, the Athenian orator had the natural elements at his service. There was the sky of Attica above his head, the soil of At-

tica beneath his feet, and above all the sea of Attica, visible behind him. Appeals to the ruling powers of these elements, in other places vague and unmeaning, *here* were generally just, and sometimes necessary. Here, without any unnatural constraint, he could fetch the deities from those elements, and place them as it were on this platform before him. They would appear to answer his call, not like stage-deities let down *ex machinâ*, but as stepping spontaneously from those visible elements, in which they were believed to dwell. There must therefore have been something inexpressibly solemn in the ejaculation, ³Ω Γῆ καὶ Θεοὶ ! O Earth and Gods ! uttered in his most sublime periods by Demosthenes in this place.

“Nor was it merely that the sea and the sky, the vales and the mountains of his native land, by which he was immediately surrounded, gave nerve and energy to the eloquence of the speaker here (which no other excitement could so well supply), so that we seem still to inhale the air of Attica from the pages of Demosthenes ; he had not merely the natural elements in his favor, but he had also those historical objects, both of nature and art, immediately around him, by which the imagination of his audience was most forcibly excited, and in which their affections were interested most deeply.

“Visible behind him at no great distance was the scene of Athenian glory, the island of Salamis. Nearer was the Peiræus, with its arsenals lining the shore, and its fleets floating upon its bosom. Before him was the crowded city itself. In the city, immediately below him, was the circle of the Agora, planted with plane trees, adorned with statues of marble, bronze and gilded, with painted porticoes, and stately edifices, monuments of Athenian gratitude and glory ; a little beyond it was the Areopagus ; and above all, towering to his right, rose the stately Acropolis itself, faced with its Propylæa as a frontlet, and surmounted with the Parthenon as a crown. Therefore, the Athenian orator was enabled to speak with a power, and almost an exultation, which the presence of such objects alone could give either to himself or his hearers. Thence he could extol the generous sacrifices made by his and their common state, as being the efficient causes ἀπ’ ὧν κτήματα ἀθάνατα αὐτῷ περιέσθιν, τὰ μὲν τῶν ἔργων ἢ μνήμη, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐπ’ ἐξείνους ἀνατεθέντων τὸ κάλλος, Προπύλαια ταῦτα, ὁ Παρθενὼν, Στοαὶ, Νεώσοικοι *** whence there still survive to her, everlasting possessions ; on the one hand the memory of her exploits ; on the other, the splendor of the monuments consecrated in former days ; γον PROPYLÆA, that PARTHENON, PORTICOES and DOCKS. These objects were all present before their eyes to witness to the truth of this appeal.

“The sight of these objects stirred the soul of every Athenian ; and it is evident from the productions of eloquence of which this passage is a specimen, and from the considerations above suggested, that much of the peculiar spirit which distinguishes Athenian oratory is to be ascribed not merely to the character of the speaker, and the physical quickness of his audience, but also, if we may so say, to the natural scenery of that theatre on which that eloquence was displayed. What was said of their warriors in the field, might therefore be repeated of their statesmen in the assembly, that they were supplied by

a local power with peculiar resources which rendered them matchless,

αὐτῇ γὰρ ἡ γῆ ξύμμαχος κείνοις πέλει.

For Earth itself upon their side did fight.

“We have not spoken yet of the vast *size* of the place provided for the meetings of the Athenian assembly. In its area, of more than twelve thousand square yards, it could accommodate with ease the whole free civic population of Athens. The orator from this Bema often addressed an audience of six thousand Athenians. The peculiar character of such an assembly is not to be neglected by one who would consider what part that man had to play who *held the reins of the Pnyx*. Before Demosthenes ventured to meet such an audience, remarkable alike for the enormity of its numbers and the impetuosity of its passions, well might he have gone, day by day, down to the beach of Phalerum, and have paced along the shore in order to prepare himself, by practising, as he there did, upon the surf of the Ægean sea, to face with less alarm the winds and storms of the Athenian assembly.” Wordsworth, 66–70.

In the heart of the Athenian city rose a bare rock, precipitous and rugged on three of its sides, the north, east and south, and inclined by a rapid and uneven descent on the west to the plain below. The greatest length of the irregular surface of this oblong rock was a thousand feet, its greatest breadth, five hundred. But this little inclosure became, by virtue of the genius of Grecian artists, the “most interesting spot of ground on the face of the heathen earth.” This was the Acropolis, “the fortress, the sacred inclosure, the treasury, and the museum of art of the Athenian nation.” Here were the Propylæa, the Erectheum, the statue of Minerva, the Parthenon. Up that steep ascent, through those magnificent gates, as the bronze leaves folded back, over those marble pavements, where the deep-worn ruts of the chariot wheels are still visible, rolled the joyous procession in the Panathenaic festival. Here now *are* the Propylæa, the Erectheum, the Parthenon, glorious in their decay. The statues are gone. Not one can be found of the *three thousand* which were said to remain after the spoliation by Nero. Yet some very interesting fragments have recently been discovered bearing inscriptions, descriptive doubtless of some of those statues.

“Alexander the Great was said to have erected in the Propylæa a statue to Aristotle. This, considering Aristotle’s unpopularity at Athens, seemed not probable; but Mr. Pittakys has found in the rub-

bish of the Propylæa a marble fragment of a pedestal, with this inscription:

***** ΣΟΦΙΗΣ ΗΓΗΤΗΡΑ ***** ΚΛΕΟΣ *****
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗ ***** ΡΟΣ *****

"That is—*** OF WISDOM LEADER ***** GLORY ***** TO ARISTOTLE ***** The three last letters of the original inscription, ΡΟΣ, are probably the termination of the name of *Alexander*. At all events, mutilated as the inscription is, it affords incontrovertible evidence of the accuracy of Pausanias.

"Another similar discovery, not quite so interesting, but important as corroborative of Pausanias, is this: he states that 'at the entrance of the Acropolis is a statue of Mercury, which they call ΕΡΜΗΣ ΠΡΟΠΥΛΑΙΟΣ—*Hermes Propylæus*, or *Mercury before the gate*.' Mr. Pittākys found on the very spot designated by Pausanias a fragment inscribed,

ΕΡΜΗΠΡΟΠΥΛΑΙΩΙΗΠΟΛΙΣ:*

clearly denoting, that it was a dedication by THE CITY TO HERMES PROPYLÆUS.

"Another is still more interesting. Pausanias says, that near the temple of Diana in the Acropolis was a statue of Cænobius, who had moved the decree recalling from exile the historian *Thucydides*, the son of *Olorus*. The text of Pausanias is here very obscure; Mr. Pittākys collects from it, that there was also a statue of *Thucydides himself* near that of his friend. I see no warrant for this interpretation; but the main fact is clear—that here stood a statue in some way commemorative of the decree for the recall of *Thucydides*. Now on this same spot has been lately found the fragment of a pedestal inscribed,

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΗΣ ΟΛΟΡΟΥ
THUCYDIDES, THE SON OF OLORUS.

"This was probably a fragment of the inscription of the statue either of Cænobius, who obtained the recall of Thucydides, or of the historian himself." Gifford, 101.

The history of the dilapidation of the Parthenon and its sister temples, would show how little time has had to do with it, how much man, *civilized* man. The architect built, as the old painter painted, for eternity, and the massive Doric pile seems as though it might bid defiance to its natural enemies, storms and cold, in that climate, for ten thousand years. It is sad to think that within less than two centuries the Parthenon was as entire as when Pericles first opened it to the admiration of

* To those not in the habit of seeing this kind of inscription, it may be as well to observe, that what we call the iota subscriptum is always expressed by an I after the vowel; so that this would be read,
Ἑρμῇ Προπυλαίῳ ἡ Πόλις.

Athens, bating only the slight corrosion of the atmosphere. No one can look without indignation upon the marble pillars shattered by the cannon balls,—at the same time he is reminded of the strength of the structure by the fact that some of these pillars have received the direct stroke of the shot without having moved from their places. The Venetians led the way in the wholesale destruction. During a siege by them of the Acropolis, converted by the Turks into a fortress, a powder magazine in the Parthenon exploded and blew out a large number of the columns at the sides. It is one of the horrors of war that it does not always respect the productions of art, the destruction of which does not diminish the strength of the enemy. Yet modern warfare does seek, as far as possible, to confine its attacks to fortresses (as the Acropolis was at this time); and the wanton destruction of public or private buildings is justly branded with infamy. We regard therefore the destruction by the Venetians with far less indignation than that deliberate dilapidation in time of peace by Lord Elgin, under the paltry plea that it was necessary in order to preserve the marbles, just as though the efforts which the government made to obtain the marbles would not have availed, if made with the Turks with a view to their preservation; to say nothing of the most noticeable fact, that the figures, which in their place on the frieze were so full of life and beauty, must necessarily, in the British museum, seem disconnected, and show to their utmost disadvantage every blemish; and we have no doubt that the impression of the great majority of those who visit those celebrated remains, is one of almost unmingled disappointment. Besides, the loss was not only of that which was actually taken away, but in the necessary destruction attendant upon the removal of parts so firmly bound to the whole, and the loosening of what remained. Dr. Clarke gives this account of the removal of one of the *metopes*.

“After a short time spent in examining the several parts of the temple, one of the workmen came to inform *Don Battista* that they were then going to lower one of the *metopes*. We saw this fine piece of sculpture raised from its station between the *triglyphs*; but the workmen endeavoring to give it a position adapted to the projected line of descent, a part of the adjoining masonry was loosened by the machinery; and down came the fine masses of Pentelican marble, scattering their white fragments with thundering noise among the ruins.*** Looking up, we saw with regret the gap that had been made; which all the ambassadors of the earth, with all the sovereigns they represent, aided by every resource that wealth and talent can now bestow, will never again repair.”

Under the present government every fragment of antiquity is preserved with the most scrupulous care ; rubbish is cleared away, and restorations attempted according to the limits of a shallow treasury, and clouds of crows now wheel their slow circles above the Acropolis and settle upon the ruins secure from the gun of the fowler, who spares them lest a chance shot should injure some valued remain.

The irregular surface of the Acropolis becomes so narrow at the western extremity that the plan was suggested of erecting a massive gateway which should fill up the whole space, and serve, at the same time, as a defence and a magnificent introduction to the sacred splendors within. This gateway consisted of a kind of open colonnade flanked by two wings of solid and massive masonry. On the left hand as you approach was the public picture gallery—faded tints yet cover the walls—and in front of this north wing, a lofty pedestal of white marble, evidently designed for a statue, still remains. This, from the inscription, must have been that of Agrippa. The Propylæa was finished in five years, and was ranked with the Parthenon among the wonders of Grecian art, demanding the praise of foreigners as well as natives, as is shown by a quotation made by Mr. Wordsworth from a speech of Epaminondas, who wished the Thebans to strive to transfer the glory of Athens to their own city. “Oh men of Thebes, you must *uproot the Propylæa* of the Athenian Acropolis and plant them in front of the Cadmean citadel.” We cannot forbear a quotation illustrative of the ancient glories of the place :

“The Propylæa stood like a splendid frontispiece, a *τῆλαυγὲς πρό-σῳπον*, of the Athenian citadel. If we might compare the whole Acropolis to one of our own minsters planted on a hill, the Propylæa were its *west door*. It was this particular point in the localities of Athens which was most admired by the Athenians themselves ; nor is this surprising : let us conceive such a restitution of this fabric as its surviving fragments suggest ; let us imagine it restored to its pristine beauty ; let it rise once more in the full dignity of its youthful stature ; let all its architectural decorations be fresh and perfect ; let their mouldings be again brilliant with their glowing tints of red and blue ; let the coffers of its soffits be again spangled with stars, and the white marble antæ be fringed over, as they were once, with their delicate embroidery of ivy leaf ; let it be such a lovely day as the present day of November—and then let the bronze valves of the fine gates of the Propylæa be suddenly flung open, and all the splendors of the interior of the Acropolis burst at once upon the view,

ὄψεσθε δέ• κ. τ. λ. Aristoph. Equites 1326.

"But ye shall see! for the opening doors I hear of the Propylæa,
Shout, shout aloud! at the view which appears of the old time-honored
Athenae,
Wondrous in sight, and famous in song, where the noble Demus
abideth." WORDSWORTH, 115.

A little without the gate was the place assigned to a temple of Victory Apteros,—for by such a representation the Athenians sought to secure the favor of the Deity—mentioned by Pausanias and noticed by travellers as lately as 1681. Subsequently however it disappeared, and doubts were started as to its existence, or at least as to its position, when, in recently removing a Turkish battery which stood in front of the entrance, the remains of the lost temple were discovered, fragments of pillars and entablatures taken down and laid aside. The present government have collected the fragments and re-erected the building on its original foundations. This place has been assigned too as that from which Ægeus cast himself down on seeing the *black sail* of Theseus. Gifford remarks: "It does not seem to me, that Pausanias' expression warrants this interpretation." He then quotes the Greek, and translates it as follows:

"On the right of the Propylæa is the temple of Victory without wings; THENCE the sea is visible—INTO WHICH Ægeus (as they say) threw himself and perished."

"This appears more in accordance with the generally received story of Ægeus having thrown himself into the sea which bears his name, as well as with the location. The spot indeed is little fitted for such a suicide, being the least precipitous of the entire rock; and why should the sea be called Ægean, only because it was *visible* from an inland cliff, where Ægeus, if he had thrown himself down would only have broken his bones? In short, we resolved to adhere to the old opinion that Ægeus was drowned in the Ægean."

Mr. Wordsworth says: "This particular spot commands a wide prospect of the sea. From this spot Ægeus threw himself when he saw the black sail on his son's mast. * * Writers, with few exceptions, make Ægeus throw himself from the rock of the Acropolis into the sea, which is *three miles off*, in order to give a name to the *Ægean*, which etymology is refuted by the word *Ægean* alone. The sea is *Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος*; but the adjective from Ægeus is *Αἰγῆος*." p. 108.*

The best position for viewing the Parthenon is from the Museum, a hill about a quarter of a mile to the S. W. of the Acropolis. From that point the spectator has a side view, but

* Col. Leake, in his *Topography of Athens*, gives the same version as Mr. Wordsworth. Taylor, in his translation of Pausanias, the same as Mr. Gifford.

at an angle so oblique as to conceal the loss of the central columns, while the distance is so great that the loss of the ornamented frieze is not perceived; but a close examination is necessary to show the massiveness and beauty of the structure,—its floor, composed of solid blocks of marble nearly a foot thick,—the polished walls of the cella, so far as they remain,—the pillars from the quarry of Pentelicus, the different stones so nicely joined that the joint is frequently not perceivable. The length of this matchless temple is 228 feet, its breadth 108; of the fifty-one columns by which it was surrounded, nineteen, if we mistake not, were thrown down by the explosion of the magazine in 1687. But, in the midst of the general wreck, there are some vestiges of ancient custom remaining, of peculiar interest. One of these circumstances Mr. Wordsworth thus beautifully notices:

“At Pompeii the impression of the ancient cyathus, which is at this day visible on the marble slab of the shop there, is one of those incidents,—touching perhaps more sensibly because its touch is so slight,—which makes the spectator feel towards the old inhabitants of that place as towards acquaintances who have just left him. This feeling, and more than this, arises naturally in the mind, when you look on the eastern front of the Parthenon, and see beneath its metopes the impressions which have been left there by the round shields which were once attached to its marble face. Beneath them are visible also the traces of the inscriptions which recorded the names of those by whom those shields in battle had been won. * * * There is reason to think that those very shields of which we now see the impressions, had caught the eye of Euripides, and that they suggested the expression, by the mouth of his chorus, of a wish for repose and tranquillity, which in a long war that poet himself so deeply felt:

‘May my spear idle lie, and spiders spin
Their webs about it! May I, Oh may I, pass
My hoary age in peace!—
Then let me chant my melodies, and crown
My gray hairs with a chaplet!
And let me hang a Thracian target high
Upon the peristyle of *Minerva’s* fane.’

“The chorus itself which sang these lines as it danced in the orchestra beneath us, probably pointed to these shields from the theatre, which is immediately below the eastern front of the Parthenon on which they were hung. The Parthenon was the only temple of Minerva at Athens that possessed a peristyle.” p. 118.

To an Athenian, the view from the Parthenon must have been most inspiring. At his feet, on whichever side he turned, re-

posed the city, rich in temples, and theatres, and busy with ten thousand traffickers. Far to the north was the deep pass of Phyle, witnessing to the victory of Thrasybulus. Nearer to him the white path over the rugged rocks, by which the herald brought the news of the defeat of the Persians at Marathon. There too was Mt. Parnes, famous for its wines,—and Pentelicus, from whose marble bowels the city had grown; at the east rose the gentle slopes of Hymettus; towards the south, at the boundary of the plain, his eye would rest on the placid sea, and the harbor of Phalerum, while farther west he would see the land-locked Peiræus, Salamis, the sacred way to Eleusis just hid behind the hills, and, in the very distant horizon, the setting sun sinking behind the citadel of Corinth. The great features of the scene still are there, destined through all time to proclaim with eloquent voice the deeds which have made them famous; but the Athenian people are not there. “Here and there a solitary Albanian peasant is seen following his mule, laden with wood, along the road into town; and the most cheerful sight in the plain before us, is that thick grove of olives,—still growing on the side of the academy,—which looks now like a silver sea rippling in the autumnal breeze.” The spectator may now look down upon the palace of a king, and the abodes of foreign ambassadors; but of a “barbarian” king imposed by “barbarians,” of ambassadors from nations which grew into power more than a thousand years after the glory of Greece passed away; and if ever the future traveller shall behold from that consecrated summit the “academies,” and “lyceums,” and temples, and crowded marts of a learned, prosperous and religious people, they will be creations of a people with far other elements of prosperity, and representing far other principles than those upon which the ancient republics rested, of which the ancient poets sung, and the ancient philosophers boasted. The old things have passed away, and never, never shall be renewed.

We can select for illustration, from the volumes before us, but two or three other points of interest in the topography of Athens, from the many which present themselves. The first shall be the Theatre, situated just beneath the eastern front of the Parthenon on the steep declivity south of the Acropolis, its semi-circular stone benches hewn out of the solid rock of the mountain. Here were represented the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and the satirical comedies of Aristophanes. How much excitement, both to poet and people,

would be afforded by the exposed and beautiful situation, we may well imagine. Mr. Wordsworth gives some illustrations from which we are obliged to select.

"It will be found that most of the metaphorical expressions of Æschylus are derived from objects which were *visible* to the audience, while they listened to the recital of those expressions in the theatre. Seas and storms, building of ships and their navigation; feeding of flocks on the hills, hunting in the woods, fishing on the sea, walls and fortifications, the Stadium and its course; these are the usual, the simple and natural sources, from which Æschylus derived his copious streams of figurative diction. They are all either immediately within view, or in near connection with that theatre where the language they enriched was uttered. They were almost the natural elements of which the poetical atmosphere of that theatre was composed: the dramatic poet breathed them as his native air.

"Similarly Sophocles (Ajax 596) speaks with a local truth, when he says, in the theatre at Athens, of the islands of Salamis:

ὦ κλεινὰ Σαλαμίς· κ. τ. λ.

'O noble Salamis, thou, indeed,
Buoyed on the wave, dost happy dwell
Conspicuous ever in the eyes of men.'

The peaked hills of Salamis stood in the western horizon, like a picture drawn to illustrate the poem, with their visible beauty." p. 95.

The influence of these vast and frequent assemblies in the education of the Athenians, must have been great, and never should be lost sight of in our study of the Athenian character; nor will the inquiries of Plato, which we quote below, apply alone to the *ancient* republic or to assemblies in the *Theatre* or *Odeum*.

"When multitudes sit crowded together at *assemblies*, *courts of justice* or at *theatres*, and with loud uproar condemn some things and praise others which are there said or done, doing both with extravagance, by bawling and tumultuous explosion; and when, in addition to this, the *rocks* and place in which they are, produce, by their echo, a redoubled din both of praise and blame; in such a posture as this, what, think you, are the feelings, as the saying is, of our Young Man, or what private education deem you, will offer its resistance for him, so as not to be swept along by the deluge of such praise or blame, and dashed where these expressions may carry it?" Plato Rep. 11. 492.

A little to the northwest of the Acropolis rises a rocky knoll, to the irregular surface of which you ascend by sixteen steps cut in the rock. "Immediately above the steps, on the level of the hill, is a bench of stone excavated in the limestone

rock, and facing the south ; on its east and west side is a raised block. This was the Areopagus ; the first mentioned stone bench may have been the tribunal, the two latter, the rude stones assigned to the accuser and the accused." Here, in the open air sat the Areopagites as judges, and here St. Paul uttered that memorable speech, no less remarkable for its appropriateness than its boldness.

"The temple of the Eumenides was immediately below him ; the Parthenon of Minerva facing him above. Their presence seemed to challenge the assertion in which he declared here, *that in TEMPLES made by hands the Deity does not dwell*. In front of him, towering over the city from its pedestal on the rock of the Acropolis,—as the Borromean Colossus, which at this day, with outstretched hand, gives its blessing to the low village of Arona, or as the brazen statue of the armed angel, which, from the summit of the castel St. Angelo, spreads its wings over the city of Rome,—was the bronze Colossus of Minerva, armed with spear, shield and helmet, as the champion of Athens. Standing almost beneath its shade he pronounced that the Deity was not to be likened to that, the work of Phidias, nor to other forms in gold, silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device, which peopled the scene before him." Wordsworth, p. 77.

The names of the Ilissus and Cephissus are so connected with that of Athens that we cannot pass them by. The former flows down from the mountains to the east of the city—a little babbling brook, frequently dry, and which you can almost always leap across,—and running along the base of the walls finds its way to the Ægean. The Cephissus flows through the plain to the west, a mile or two from the city ; the Academy was upon its banks, as the Lyceum, according to topographers, graced those of the sister stream. Some will be surprised to learn that the *Attic* poets do not praise the Ilissus. The reason will be easily seen.

"Not one of the mountains of Athens survives in the works of her tragic writers, and the banks of the Ilissus have received no favorable notices from the poets of Athens, while its rival stream, the Cephissus, which has no better claims on the ground of magnitude or beauty, has been honored by much harmonious and enthusiastic praise. Ilissus was too near the city, and was connected with too many associations of civic life, to be a favorite with poets. There was no retirement here such as the Muses loved. They found the quiet, which they sought here in vain, in the groves of the Academy, on the banks of the Cephissus.

"The poetical disabilities of the Ilissus were not however absolute and unqualified. They were not without their compensation ; their cause was even in some respects advantageous to it. To poets writ-

ing at a distance from Athens, its proximity to the walls which alienated it from the minds of *Athenian* poets, conveyed no unpleasant idea, but was a recommendation on the contrary, as connecting it immediately with that city. Ilissus was by them promoted to a distinguished place in the poetical map. So then, from Apollonius Rhodius down to Milton, the Ilissus, and not the Cephissus was the appropriate river of Athens. Plato dwelt in the Academy, and therefore near the Cephissus: he has been more generous to the rival stream: he has honored the Ilissus with a place in one of his most beautiful landscapes. The banks of this stream, a little above the fountain of Callirhoe, derive at present their principal interest from their having been chosen by him as the scene of the dialogue of Phædrus with Socrates. However bare and treeless they now may be,—and indeed they are entirely so,—the leaves of the platane which the genius of Plato has planted on the side of the Ilissus still seem to cast their shadow over its stream, and the agnus castus, which then flowered in its bed, has been endued by him with a perennial freshness.” p. 163.

We have dwelt somewhat long upon the antiquities of the Athenian capital, and must still leave many, by no means the least interesting, unnoticed. Such are the tower of the winds, the choragic monument of Lysicrates, the Stadium, the gigantic columns which mark the site of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, and the “olive grove of Plato’s retirement.” Nor do we forget that to the traveller there is some interest in the modern city. Few travellers in the modern capital will neglect to notice the marks of a warfare which the lapse of fourteen years had not effaced; nor look without sympathy upon the monuments of Karaïskakis and Miaulis, the prudent, daring and successful captain, the patriotic and brave admiral. We confess we read with surprise the account of that six years’ fierce contest in which the Greeks won their freedom. We are not forgetful of the selfish and disgraceful conduct of some of the chiefs, nor of the excesses committed in that savage warfare, but we wonder that a people with so little education, so much religious ignorance, so few resources at home, so few powerful friends abroad should have (the mass of them) been so firm and steady in the midst of trials the most revolting, and sufferings the most severe. It shows that there is something of value in the heart of the nation; and though even now ill at ease under the rule of a foreign king, of feeble powers, however well disposed,—with an exhausted treasury, and not yet well accustomed to the restraints of law,—we cannot believe that the active and versatile mind of the Greek is destined to no particular influence on the nations bordering upon the Mediterranean. We doubt not that, as the people recover from their pecuniary depression, as

education becomes more generally diffused and the moral tone of society established, their energy will not be wanting. In accomplishing the work of education, the government has established a university at Athens, and gymnasia and schools in several of the large towns. We hope that the importance of the efforts of the American missionaries at Athens will come to be more deeply felt than it is at present. We are glad to see that their influence has been noticed not unfrequently by foreigners, and that the government has bestowed upon them marks of its approbation.

The natural resources of Greece are various, though at present but very imperfectly developed. Its great plains are adapted to different kinds of grains, and the fact that these plains are of various degrees of elevation, from the level of the sea to the height of two thousand feet above that level, seems to secure the land from any fear of dearth. Tobacco grows well in the neighborhood of Tiryns and Mycenae, and other positions seem favorable to the growth of cotton or mastic.* Above all, the numerous excellent harbors in all the three departments of Greece, insular, peninsular and continental, will always attract the foreign shipping; and familiarity with the sea will, hereafter still more than formerly, raise up a body of the most active, skilful and enterprising sailors in the Levant, and Greeks will conduct most of the carrying trade of the Eastern Mediterranean. Already the barren little island of Syra has become a depôt for the great lines of steam-boats plying in those quarters, and furnishes an abundance of ship-yards. If the country maintains its political stability for a few years, the increase of its wealth and power will be so evident as not to need the aid of conjecture. But we return again to the volumes before us, and cannot better illustrate the advancement of Athens than by giving Mr. Wordsworth's description of the city in 1833:

"The Bazar or market at Athens is a long street, which is now the only one there of importance. It has no foot pavement; there is a gutter in the middle, down which, in this wintry weather (Feb. 1st), the water runs in copious torrents. The houses are generally patched together with planks and plaster. Looking up the street you command a view of the commodities with which this Athenian market is now supplied. Barrels of black caviar, small pocket looking-glasses in red pasteboard cases, onions, tobacco piled up in brown

* Appendix to Athens and Attica.

heaps, black olives, figs strung together upon a rush, rice, pipes with amber mouth-pieces and brown clay bowls, rich stuffs, and silver-chased pistols, dirks, belts, and embroidered waistcoats,—these are the varied objects, which a rapid glance along this street presents to the spectator.

“The objects which are not to be found here, as well as those which are, ought not to be neglected in this description. Here there are no books, no lamps, no windows, no carriages, no newspapers, no post-office. The letters which arrived here a few days since from Napoli, after having been publicly cried in the streets, if they were not claimed by the parties to whom they were addressed, were committed to the flames.

“Such is the present condition of Athens, as far as its streets speak of its condition. The city is still in the hands of the Turks. *** The Muezzin still mounts the scaffold in the bazar here to call the Mussulmen to prayer at the stated hours; a few Turks still doze in the archways of the Acropolis, or recline while smoking their pipes, and leaning with their backs against the rusty cannon which are planted on the battlements of its walls; the Athenian peasant, as he drives his laden mule from Hymettus through the eastern gates of the town, still flings his small bundle of thyme and brushwood from the load which he brings on the mule’s back, as a tribute to the Mussulman toll-gatherer, who sits at that entrance of the town; and a few days ago the cannon of the Acropolis fired the signal of the conclusion of the Turkish Ramazan—the last which will ever be celebrated in Athens.

“Such alterations will probably have occurred within a few years in the general aspect of things in this place, that this description of its appearance at this time will then be perhaps considered as a chapter taken from the fabulous history of Athens, and its condition in a short period be as far removed from what it is at present, as from what it was in the most ancient times, under the old Cecropian monarchs, and at that obscure epoch, when its soil was trodden by the feet of the roving Pelasgi.” p. 249.

But few years were needed to produce those changes. In 1837, three great streets had been opened, the land on which commanded very high prices. Land in good situations was sold as high as six thousand dollars the acre. The rubbish was gradually disappearing, and good houses took the place of poor ones. A custom-house has now been built at the Peiræus, a palace at Athens. The old walls have been removed. There are books in the shops, and lamps and windows and newspapers and a post-office, and the city contains more than 20,000 inhabitants.

The unsettled state of the country and the swarms of robbers, by which it was infested after the revolution, have been frequently spoken of by those whose prejudices determined that Greece *should not* be renovated; but if we remember the utter

desolation of the land by fire and sword,—so that the difficulty of gaining subsistence was not small,—and the demoralizing effect of such an irregular war as the Greeks carried on; and if besides, we but call to mind the scenes which followed the acknowledgment of our own independence, the unsettled and dissatisfied state of the public mind, the insurrections which occurred and those which were feared, and the anxiety which was caused in many a small village as the “regulars” appeared returning from the disbanded army, we shall not be astonished at the number of disturbances in Greece, nor wonder much that the traveller, who went *alone* even from Athens to the Peiræus, was in danger of “falling among thieves.”

One of the most interesting spots in Attica is the plain of Marathon. It is distant nearly a day’s journey from Athens, and may be approached by at least three routes, by the sea-shore east of Pentelicus, over the mountain itself, and still farther west, through Cephisia. The second of these is the most interesting, for it leads by the quarries, and one sees upon the lofty face of the marble cliffs the marks of the ancient chisel, and strewed at their base the broken fragments which were not worth the trouble of transportation. At present the quarry lies unused; the demand for the marble not being enough to pay the expense of working. Besides this, the road carries you by some of the most picturesque scenery in this part of Greece. The panorama from the top of Pentelicus is of itself worth the trouble of the excursion, and the wild ravines by which you descend to Marathon are enough to inspire an imaginative people to create Dryads and Naiads to preside over the woods and fountains. The little village of Marathon, preserving nearly the same name as the ancient, and probably upon the same site, is situated on a small stream which flows down a valley on the western boundary of the plain. Coming down that narrow pass between the hills, the traveller sees stretched out before him, the memorable field. Its length is about six miles, its extreme width, a little more than two. The Persians debarked upon the northern part of the plain and the Greeks occupied the southern, where their flank was defended in part by marshes, and their rear by the declivities of Pentelicus. The plain too is narrower at this part, so as to allow a smaller compass for the manœuvres of the Persian hosts. No other ancient battle is more interesting to us than that, for nowhere else do we see so fully the contest of *ideus*. Athens was but nine hours

from Marathon. A victory of the Persians was a victory over Greece, and a change of the whole current of opinion, of literature and civilization. We can imagine with what intensity of interest the Athenian citizens looked out over the worn pathway to descry the messenger who should bring tidings of victory, or the stragglers who should proclaim a defeat. The extraordinary honors which were paid to the slain, and to the survivors, show in what light the contest was regarded. The plain remains now nearly as it was left after the battle. No habitation is upon it, almost no sign of man; there are no marks by which the lapse of centuries has been chronicled, nothing of modern or temporary interest to divide the attention, and the traveller is left to the full impression of the recollections of antiquity. Towards the southern part of the plain is seen the tumulus, twenty or thirty feet high, which covers the remains of the Plataeans and slaves, and still farther south, on a rocky knoll in the midst of the marsh, fragments of the marble pillars which marked the sepulchre of the Athenians. Not even the field of Waterloo, with its immense mound supporting the Belgian lion, fills one with such awe as that silent plain with only the little tumulus to break the level horizon. Historians tell us that to this day, as in the time of Pausanias, the superstitious peasant believes the region to be haunted by spectral warriors, who course nightly over the solitary plain, and the shepherd is alarmed by the neighing of steeds and the shouts of battle.

We intended to follow our travellers in their excursion through the Peloponnesus, less for the sake of its antiquities than for giving our readers some idea of the state of the country, but the length of our extracts warns us to be brief.

Of the ruins out of Athens, the remains of the temple at Ægina has always attracted the traveller. Mr. Dodwell calls it the most picturesque and interesting ruin in Greece. The little triangular island itself possesses some historical interest. It was the maritime rival of Athens, and from its situation directly in the line between Corinth and the islands of the Archipelago, and the rich cities of Asia, naturally attracted the trade which otherwise would have flowed up to the capital of Attica. The beautiful ruin of which we have spoken, is situated at the northeast corner of the island.

“It stands on a gentle elevation near the sea, commanding a view of the Athenian coast, and of the Acropolis at Athens, and beyond them of the waving line traced by the mountain ranges of Pentelicus and

Hymettus. Its site is sequestered and lonely. The ground is diversified by gray rocks overhung by tufted pines, and clusters of low shrubs, among which goats are feeding, some of them placing their forefeet on the boughs of the shrubs, and cropping the leaves with their bearded mouths. It is such a scene as this which proves that the religion of Greece knew how to avail itself of two things most conducive to a solemn and devotional effect, namely, silence and solitude." Athens and Attica, p. 268.

Mr. Gifford and his companions, leaving Athens in a boat, proceeded to Ægina, and thence to Epidaurus, Napoli, Argos and Mycenæ. We give his account of the ancient city of Agamemnon. After speaking of the cavern which is called *both* the Treasury of Athens and the Tomb of Agamemnon, but which, from a remark of Pausanias, he is inclined to consider the tombs of Clytemnestra and Ægisthus, he says :

"From the second cavern a few minutes brought us to the *Gate of Lions*. Standing opposite to it, I could hardly believe it possible that it had existed for so many ages, notwithstanding the combined assaults of war and time. In its immediate neighborhood the walls are still entire, as well as in many other parts of the city ; the lions, which are rampant, resting their forelegs against a low pillar, are, with the exception of their heads, perfect, though in the rudest style of sculpture.

"From the spot where we stood, the scene was full of interest. We were exceedingly struck by the presence of these Cyclopean monuments—the oldest authenticated work which we had ever seen in any intelligible shape—and their exact accordance with the description of Pausanias ; while the ancient and jealous city of Argos, backed by its commanding citadel, seemed still to frown, at the distance of seven or eight miles, on the ruin of its annihilated rivals ! There was not a sound to disturb the extreme solitude of a place once the wealthy capital of a powerful state ; the conqueror of Troy was dust ; his city rubbish ; but his name and memory were as fresh as ever. This was the very scene to illustrate the full force of Horace's beautiful allusion :

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi: sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro. Hor. Od. IV. 9.

"But for the magic of the Grecian muse, the victors and the vanquished would have been lost in oblivion, and their monuments unintelligible ruins. Nor must we forget our obligation to the humbler labors of Pausanias ; without such a guide, had any person stumbled on these mighty remains, the question of what they had been would simply afford matter of vague discussion to the antiquary, without exciting those feelings of historical reality, and that corresponding pleasure, which they now kindle even in the least enthusiastic. The Gate of Lions is choked with rubbish ; but I managed, on my hands

and knees, to crawl through a narrow opening, along the very spot by which the *King of men* had marched to accomplish the fate of Ilium, and had returned triumphant, only to be the victim of a domestic tragedy, which has for ages interested the feelings of mankind." Gifford, 181.

How different the feelings with which one visits the modern ruins of Tripolitza. This ill-fated city was the scene of some of the fearful atrocities of the Greek revolution. When taken by the Greeks under Colocotroni, the Turks were slaughtered by thousands, and when subsequently,—after having, by a gradual influx of people from all parts, become the most important and populous town in Greece, numbering 30,000 inhabitants,—it was retaken by the Turks, the inhabitants that remained (at the approach of the army all fled who could get away) were butchered or carried into slavery, and the whole city devoted to the flames.* Mr. Gifford arrived there in the night, and gives an interesting description of it, which we are obliged to omit.

From Tripolitza the travellers proceeded south to Sparta, and found there an illustration of a remark of Thucydides, that if Sparta and Athens should be destroyed, the latter would, from the superior magnificence of its ruins, be supposed to have been the greater state of the two. Nothing can be truer. No ruins mark the situation of ancient Lacedemon—*seges ubi Sparta*. Even the foundations of a small temple, which are pointed out, and the theatre excavated from the side of a ploughed hill, belong not to the "Sparta of Menelaus, of Leonidas, of Greece, but to the modern Roman town, which has also disappeared in the lapse of ages." The Eurotas flows there still, and the wild and turbulent Mainotes rudely cultivate the fertile plains. Thence the travellers proceeded to Messene and along the western shore of the Morea by Phygaleia, across the Alpheus to Olympia, the scene of the sacred triumphs, and to Pyrgo on the sea, where they embarked to meet the English steam-boat at Zante.

Had we not already drawn too copiously from the volumes before us, we should like to dwell a little longer on the character of the modern Greek, so like in its great features to that of his acute and flexible ancestor two thousand years ago, so unchanged by centuries of ignorance, degradation and slavery,—and to

* See Howe's Greek Revolution.

gather from the view some seeds of hope for the future well-being of the race. His language too shows a remarkable similarity to the ancient. Striking changes have indeed been made, but fewer than in the Italian compared with the Latin, and we think we speak within limits in saying that the educated Greek ladies will read Plato and Euripides as easily as ours can read Chaucer.

As to the pronunciation of modern Greek, much has been said, but we are not prepared even to state the question fully. We close with a single remark of Mr. Gifford. "It is hard to believe that the present pronunciation can be the same as the ancient; for besides the penury of sounds with which it narrows the language, we have at least one instance in which ancient authority seems to contradict modern practice; for an Aristophanic fragment talks of the '*Βη, βῆ* πρόβατων βληχῆ'—*ba, ba, the bleating of sheep*; and we can witness that the modern sheep of Greece pronounce the B with as much distinctness as those of Salisbury plain. Nor can I give much credence to a system which reduces the *πολυγλώσσοιο* of Homer, a sound which we heard the *sea* itself articulating on the shores of Pylos, into *pollyfleesveeo*."

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF NORDHEIMER'S HEBREW CONCORDANCE.

By Tayler Lewis, Esq., Professor of Greek in the University of New York.

אוצר לשון הקדש

A Complete Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance to the Old Testament, comprising also a condensed Hebrew-English Lexicon, with an Introduction and Appendices. By Dr. Isaac Nordheimer, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of the city of New-York, assisted by William W. Turner. Part First, כח תב. New-York: Wiley & Putnam.

BISHOP HORSELEY has somewhere expressed the opinion, that a careful study of parallel passages, even as they are imperfectly given in King James's Bible, would impart to a plain unlettered man, a better knowledge of Scriptural truth, than could be

acquired by one of far superior literary attainments, but who should neglect the simple though powerful means, which the other had employed. If this be true in respect to so imperfect a process as the collation of parallel passages in our common version, or of the remote points of resemblance exhibited by an English concordance, how much more might be expected from the constant use of so powerful an auxiliary, as a finished and copious index of the original words of inspiration? Were it a new vocabulary, furnishing only concise references to all the passages, or a mere numerical list of texts, it would be, in fact, of more value, than the most accredited lexicon without it, and more deserving of a place in every clergyman's library. It might even be maintained, that in a certain stage of the student's course, and after he had become moderately familiar with the language, it would absolutely be better to deprive him for a season of his separate lexicon, and throw him upon the forced exercise of his own powers, in studying by the concordance, and determining the primary senses of words, from a careful observation of those associations which it presents. In fact no commentary, translation, or lexicon can supply its place. In the language of the author's prospectus, "it can teach nothing but what is true." It may be styled a self interpreting lexicon. It guides to the knowledge of the Hebrew, through a process similar to that, by which we become familiar with our own tongue. Very few, comparatively, of the words we meet with in English authors have ever been examined by the aid of a dictionary, or directly explained to us by oral teaching, and yet we feel as much confidence in our knowledge of their correct application, as though one or the other of these means had been in every case employed. The *understanding* of a word is something more than a knowledge of its separate meanings, as *remembered* from a lexicon. It is not only true of connecting and qualifying particles, but also of all parts of speech, except the lowest class of nouns, that their *whole meaning* cannot be felt, or correctly given, when viewed as *standing alone*. We meddle not here with the grave philosophical question, whether general terms, even when directly contemplated by the mind, do ever present an independent conception of their own. There can be no doubt, however, that in ordinary reading and conversation, abstract terms of any kind, can only be said to be *understood*, by an apprehension of the fitness of their connection with the other members of a proposi-

tion. We recognise them rather by their company, than by their individual features. The primary sense, or what may be styled the *spirit of a word*, is not directly made an object of thought, without a special effort of abstraction; and yet this *spirit of the word*, although not distinctly exhibited in the forms of conscious intelligence, may be ever present to the soul, actively exercised in determining the fitness, or detecting the incoherence, of the terms employed. When this is the case in respect to a foreign language, the words may be said to be *understood*. Without this, their various secondary meanings are only *remembered* from the lexicon, and blunders of every kind may be committed, in determining which of them, whilst it maintains the primary sense, best coheres with the connection in each particular example. This apprehension of the spirit of words is the result of an habitual observation of the company in which they are found, and of the associations with which they are most naturally connected. In the use of our own native words we are engaged in this discipline from infancy, and in consequence of familiarity, are not distinctly aware of the great variety of secondary senses in which single terms are employed. To a foreigner, who takes them at first, only as separate remembered senses from a lexicon, without the connecting soul of their primary idea, they convey the impression of confused and arbitrary diversity,—an impression similar to that which we derive, when learning the words of another language, and relying, as we necessarily must do at first, simply upon authority. In the case of a dead or foreign tongue, the concordance furnishes the means, by which the length of this process is shortened, and its results condensed. In respect to single words, it performs in a few hours, what in a course of reading alone, would require the critical observation of years. It does not merely give us a confused array of all possible meanings, leading to all possible interpretations, and adapted to the exigency of every dogma that seeks their support, but familiarizes the mind with the spirit of the word,—presents at a glance the one primary *sensible image or action*, which forms the uniting bond of all its various uses, and thus enables us to determine with confidence what is intended in each particular connection.

But few persons, comparatively, can be expected to become such thorough masters of the Hebrew, as to be able to read every portion of the Old Testament Scriptures with ease, and thus to make it their sole and daily medium of communication

with the inspired volume. Without the aid of a concordance, however, nothing less than this will render their knowledge of the language, in a critical point of view, much more than a mere reliance upon authority. After all, the lexicon is only substituted for the translation. The spirit of the language is not caught. The student has not attained to that familiarity with its idioms, its *usus loquendi*, its modes of conception, which alone can place him in a situation approximating to that of the ancient writer, or so bring the words to his mind in habitual connection with their primary associations, that he can feel assured, that he has grasped the true and only meaning, which in any particular passage was intended. Laborious study, and constant reading for many years, can alone impart this *tact* in criticism, and elevate the student above the mere pupil of authority.

Perhaps no cause has given rise to more frigid and forced interpretations, than that mere knowledge of lexicons, which stops short of what we have styled the spirit of a language,—or such a degree of familiarity as extends not merely to the outward expression, and its various *possible* meanings, but to the subjective state of mind, from whence its particular applications arise. A simple-minded reliance upon an accredited version, is a much safer guide to a sound and practical knowledge of the sacred volume.

We will illustrate our meaning by supposing a person to be able to read, with tolerable facility, the Greek Testament. He may have made the acquisition in some theological institute, from which classical learning is excluded; or it may be the only cherished remains of his academical course, or the result of a laudable desire in later life to understand the primary channels of inspiration. Such an one may feel a high degree of satisfaction, in being able thus to read the Bible in its original language; but after all, it may admit of much doubt, whether, without something more, the acquisition is really of any great value. If it engender a superficial critical spirit, it may be worse than useless. He has only connected the familiar ideas received from the early reading of the Scriptures, with certain Greek words, suggesting not so much their own native primary *conceptions*, as the corresponding English *words* of the translation, or the lexicographer. The whole exercise of reading, instead of being a spontaneous flow of thought, springing up directly from the original fountain in all its native freshness and

purity, is nothing more than an habitual exercise of memory. He is as dependent upon the authority of the lexicon, as the more unlearned reader is upon that of the translation. It is difficult to conceive what great benefit there is in all this. In a difficult passage he can learnedly appeal to Schneider, or Robinson, or Parkhurst, or Passow; but why not as well rely at once upon those scholars, in all respects equal to Schneider or Parkhurst, who made our excellent English version?

These remarks apply equally to some who may be regarded as tolerable Hebraists. In neither case can it be said, that the language is *known*. The words are only *remembered*. In the polemics of theology, such scholars often make the greatest show of learning; but it all consists in arraying one critical authority against another, or in skilfully picking out from the long series of meanings in a lexicon, that one, which the exigency of a certain dogma demands. Abundant proof of the truth of these remarks, may be found in those interminable logomachies, which half-learned controversialists have engaged in, on the famous word βαπτίζω,—in those exceedingly critical tracts on the prepositions εἰς and ἀπό in the New Testament,—in those endless discussions on the language of Scripture in respect to slavery, or that most absurd controversy which is now so gravely termed the *wine question*. Of what great consequence is it, to know what δοῦλος or עֶבֶד may possibly include or exclude in certain associations? Why should such vast importance be attached to some particular meanings, which may be given to these words by Schneider or Gesenius? A faithful examination by the concordance not only puts an end at once to the whole controversy, but causes the candid investigator to wonder that such a contest should ever have arisen. It does so, by placing at once before us the most important means of information,—means on which the lexicographers themselves depended,—and requires only the aid of the same native criticism, which we habitually employ in detecting the misapplication of our own native words.

In the present state of our clergy, but comparatively a small portion can be expected to attain to a high degree of eminence in those classical and oriental languages, which are deemed necessary to a critical understanding of *all parts* of the sacred volume. Even those, who have laid a good foundation in the theological seminary, find such to be the pressure of their subsequent duties, that the utmost they can expect, is to retain the imperfect knowledge which they may have acquired. The

greater part, discouraged by the prospect of the necessary time and labor, suffer their early acquisitions to pass away. A few add to them ; while a much smaller portion still, are the subjects of that enthusiastic fondness for sacred literature, which overcomes all obstacles, and leads to a critical acquaintance with the primary channels of divine inspiration.

Should it be asked : Ought then the study of the Hebrew to be abandoned by all those who cannot cherish the hope of becoming critical expounders of every part of the sacred volume ? We reply, that there is a remedy, which will not only supersede the necessity of such abandonment, but which, if faithfully applied, will prevent the danger of those crude and forced interpretations, which result from reliance upon the lexicons alone. The critical use of the concordance places the imperfect scholar, in respect to any particular words and phrases, which for the time being he may be called to investigate, on the same vantage ground that the more advanced critic occupies in respect to the whole Bible. With an accurate knowledge of the grammar, and such a facility in reading as may enable him to ascertain the associations of those terms he wishes more closely to examine, he may determine their meaning with nearly as much confidence as the lexicographer himself. He has all the means which they enjoy, except perhaps the aid derived from the cognate tongues, and which are far from being as important as some enthusiastic scholars would represent. He may, it is true, be very deficient in that species of minute criticism, which traces the name of every rare plant or animal through all the Shemetic varieties ; but the soul of the language,—the terms most important for all theological purposes,—may be made his own, not simply as remembered from the lexicon, but as known and felt in a similar manner, if not in an equal degree, with the words of his native tongue.

The Old Testament is all that remains to us of the language, and therefore the knowledge of the more important Hebrew roots must be derived mainly from the Hebrew itself. For this purpose, it presents facilities which perhaps are afforded by no other tongue. Words much more readily explain each other in the Hebrew, than in the Greek. Had the *Iliad* been the only surviving relic of Grecian literature, it would have presented far more difficulties than the Bible. For this, the latter is indebted to its parallelism, which in various ways brings out the meanings of words comparatively rare, by connecting them

by way of contrast, resemblance, climax, amplification, or antithesis, with those which are of more common occurrence. It is thus that parallelism should be regarded not as a mere poetical ornament, but as designed by God for one of the most important aids to the meaning of the holy Scriptures. Roots which occur but two or three times in the Bible are generally in such connections, as to leave but little doubt of their proper primary sense. The verb *בָּהַר* for example, and the noun *בָּהַר* occur only in Genesis 15: 10, Jerem. 34: 19,—the root *צָנַן* only in Prov. 11: 2; and in Hiphil, Micah 6: 8; and yet what doubt can we have as to their meanings, after observing the associations and antitheses in which they are placed? But little more light can be obtained from the lexicons than is furnished by the passages themselves.

To take examples of more important terms,—let us suppose that a clergyman, whose knowledge of the Hebrew is somewhat limited, wishes to arrive at a true knowledge of the forensic word *צִדְקָה* (*righteousness*). All that he has to do is to examine every passage in which it occurs from Genesis to Malachi, and he knows as much about it as Gesenius himself. Perhaps more:—the spirit of Neologism may have blinded the lexicographer, to many an important association, with which it was connected in the minds of those divine messengers, whose inspiration he denies, and the fulness of whose terms he can therefore only imperfectly appreciate. Let the same course be pursued with the words for *holiness*, *atonement*, *covenant*, *redemption*, the various terms for the *soul*, that dread word *sheol*, the phrases, in which the Hebrew is so copious, for *innate* as well as *actual* depravity, the sublime names of the Deity and of the divine attributes, the terms for *life* and *death* in their temporal and spiritual significations. He will find, in the Hebrew Scriptures alone, most ample means for a satisfactory knowledge of these important words, in all their senses, primary, secondary and metaphorical.

By such a course, the words become *his own*. They suggest not only their separate remembered meanings, but the fitness of their associations. He detects at once, and without the aid of critical rules, the fallacy of any interpretations which dissociate them from their leading senses. Words are to him no longer *ὀνόματα* or *ῥημέατα*, but *λόγοι*: they pass beyond the province of memory, and become a part of the inner property of the mind, giving rise to emotions such as they excited in the souls of David

and the prophets. He thinks *with* them, and not *about* them. He may rely, modestly, upon his own judgment, should it sometimes differ from that of the rationalizing lexicographer; for he has nearly the same external means of knowledge, whilst he may have far more participation in the spirit which dictated the Scriptures.

A vast amount of theological knowledge may thus be acquired; greater perhaps than could be attained in any other way. Volumes on the subject of the atonement would not produce so distinct and heartfelt an apprehension of this cardinal doctrine of all religion, as such an examination of the Hebrew words כָּפַר and כָּפָר in every passage in which they occur. The doubts which perplex many minds in reference to the subject of a future state, as taught in the Old Testament, would be effectually dissipated by pursuing the same course with the words רוּחַ קֹדֶשׁ and the various terms which are used in connection with them. A depth and spirituality would be discovered in the Old Testament, which escapes the notice of the superficial reader, whilst light would be shed on many important Greek words in the New Testament, whose meanings vary from classical usage, in consequence of their connection with Hebrew associations and modes of thought.

These general remarks, on the utility of the concordance, apply, in some degree, even to those which are the most imperfect! To the disgrace, however, of our theological literature, it must be said, that a Hebrew concordance of any kind, is inaccessible to the great body of our clergy. The great expense of Taylor and Buxtorf, notwithstanding their acknowledged deficiencies, excludes them from most private libraries. The theological community do therefore owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Nordheimer, for furnishing a work so complete, and at the same time so cheap as to be within the reach of those of our clergy who have the most limited means. Through the indefatigable labors of this admirable scholar, and his faithful coadjutor Mr. Turner, we have, at a less price than nine dollars, a work every way surpassing those of a similar kind, which formerly could not be obtained for ten times that amount. We thus speak of it, from a careful examination of this, and other productions of this distinguished orientalist, and if we indulge in the language of praise, it is prompted by a grateful appreciation of his untiring efforts to furnish the best helps for the right understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures.

betical order, with an index of the same kind, and also a purely alphabetical index, for the use of beginners. The order of the roots, however, is undoubtedly the best both for a lexicon and concordance, and one most useful process in the acquisition of the language is neglected, when the student is not exercised in classifying the derivatives under that radix of whose life and spirit they all partake. Independent of the use of a concordance, as a book of reference, we cannot conceive of a more pleasant mental exercise, than to trace a root through all its derivatives, and with all the passages in which they occur present at a glance, to familiarize the mind with their various associations, until the primary sense, or soul of the word, comes forth like light from chaos,—henceforth to form a part of the furniture of the student's own soul,—his own word, or λόγος, and not a mere remembered sound, arbitrarily connected with the various senses given by the lexicographers.

We conclude by a few remarks in reference to the lexicographical portion of the work. This, although necessarily concise, will be found to contain all the information which may be deemed important in Gesenius. A separate lexicon is necessarily swelled by reference to illustrative passages. This of course is dispensed with in the present work, because the same office is most fully performed by the concordance which follows. All that remained, therefore, was to give the author's view of the primary sense, not so much by way of authority, as a clue to guide the student in the subsequent examination of passages,—or as a nucleus around which his own thoughts might gather, until the result of his own investigation might confirm or reject it. Next follow very concisely the secondary applications of the word and its derivatives. This part of the work has evidently been the result of much more mental labor than the more mechanical department. If the author has erred, it has arisen from a strong desire (which may have occasionally been carried to excess) to find a principle of unity flowing through all the applications of a term. He may have been led to this, not only from a philosophical or theorizing habit of mind, but also from having constantly before him all the passages in which the term occurs. It must also be admitted, that this simultaneous exercise of compiling the concordance of passages, gives him great advantages in tracing the primary sense, and should attach great authority to his decisions.

It should undoubtedly be assumed, that there is in most, if

not in all cases, such a connecting unity ; and certainly nothing can be more valuable to the student, than the constant assumption, that there is a reason for every thing in language, which may in most cases be discovered ; yet still coupled with the admission, that there may be occasional failures, and with a caution against over-refinement. It may sometimes be impossible to determine the primary from the secondary senses, because the change to the latter, although never arbitrary, may have depended on accidental circumstances, on which the history of the language or of the people sheds no light. For example—had not the ancient manner of making covenants been known to us historically, as set forth in the Bible and in classic authors, we should have been utterly at a loss in determining how the Hebrew כָּרַח, the Greek τέμνω, and the Latin *pango*, came to have this peculiar application. If, therefore, under such circumstances, these words had been found only in their secondary uses, (as is the case with many others,) every effort to deduce from them the remote primary sense must have been mere conjecture, probably widely variant from the truth. If there is, however, any error here, it is far more safe than that opposite fault, which consists in dividing and subdividing, one radix into several, with varying primary senses, to correspond to what appear to be independent derivatives. Even should the assigned primary be a mere conjecture, it may still serve as an important aid to the memory, by forming a bond of connection, although perhaps an artificial one, for the various secondary applications. It has besides this advantage, that even in its failures, it habituates the student to a process of investigation, necessary to be employed in the right acquisition of any language.

The opposite error, to which we have alluded, forms a striking fault of the lexicon of Gesenius. Words, in which all the derivatives, and secondary senses, may be arranged under one primary, and deduced from it in a natural and satisfactory manner, are not unfrequently divided by Gesenius into distinct roots, each with a separate and independent meaning. Many examples of this might be given did our limits permit. One striking peculiarity of Gesenius is his great fondness for deducing the Hebrew senses from the Arabic—a fondness which he often carries to great excess, in resorting to far fetched derivations from the cognate tongues, when the pure Hebrew origin is too manifest to be mistaken. Our author makes much more

use of the Hebrew in explaining itself. His almost vernacular acquaintance with the language led him to appreciate more fully its resources, than could be done by one whose knowledge of it, however critical, was of a different kind. All the works of our author show, that he is deeply imbued with the *Hebrew spirit*, and that he thinks and feels *in* the language, whilst Gesenius only speculates *about* it.*

ARTICLE X.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Psychology ; or Elements of a New System of Mental Philosophy, on the basis of Consciousness and Common Sense. Designed for Colleges and Academies. By S. S. Schmucker, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in the Theol. Sem., Gettysburg, Pa. New-York : Harper & Brothers, 1842. pp. 227.*

HAD not our confidence in the good sense of the author forbid the apprehension, the title of this book would have awakened in our minds a suspicion as to the wisdom and soberness of its plan. After all the study, and trained and vigorous reasoning, that have been expended in the investigation of mind and its phenomena, it argues either great temerity, or an unusual degree of self-reliance, to attempt a "*System of Mental Philosophy*," which may be properly denominated *new*. Original investigation, however, in respect to all subjects, should

* We would simply annex the concluding paragraph of the publisher's prospectus for the benefit of those who may wish to subscribe. It announces that "the work will be completed in 9 parts of 100 pages each, which it is proposed to issue at intervals of two or three months, at one dollar a part, to be paid on delivery. Those who have already subscribed, and also those who shall subscribe before the second number appears, will receive the last number gratis. After the work is completed the price will be raised. Orders for the work may be sent either directly to the publishers or to any of the booksellers in the country." ED.

be encouraged. When conducted with a due regard to the eternal truths of revelation, and the principles which are settled in the experience of all mankind, it constitutes our only means of advancement in knowledge. Such advancement may doubtless be made in the science of Mind; and, if we mistake not, Dr. Schmucker has accomplished a valuable work by the clearness and simplicity of his division and arrangement of its elements. He does not attempt a system in all respects new. There is in it no affectation of novelty; but the author, having thoroughly studied the works of others, has carefully subjected every principle to the test of his own experience. This he has done for many years, with the advantages of having been constantly engaged as a Teacher of Mental Science, and other associated branches. The result is the suggestion of what he regards some important modifications and improvements in the arrangement and classification of the materials of the science; and which, as a system, may perhaps with some propriety be denominated *new*.

This system has been constructed with great care and thoroughness. It is sufficiently condensed, in the volume before us, and is stated and illustrated with unusual precision and clearness. It is in these respects well adapted for use as a Text-book in Academies and Colleges. It is all embraced in 200 pages, the remaining 27 pages of the volume being occupied with a *recapitulation* of the leading principles and statements of the system, for the purpose of reviews. It represents the proper materials of Mental science to be, "not the supposed faculties, of which we know nothing directly, but the known phenomena of the mind, and all those entities or existences, which exert an influence upon these phenomena, or are concerned in their production." Its division of these phenomena, or operations, is threefold, embracing them all under the terms *Cognitive Ideas*, *Sentient Ideas*, and *Active Operations*. The *first* embraces perceptions, consciousness, conceptions, judgments, recollections, results of reasoning, etc.; the *second* embraces sensations, emotions, affections, and passions; and the *third*, volitions, processes of reasoning, acts of memorizing, etc.

The Will is defined to be "that power of the soul by which it *freely determines*, in view of motives, either now or hereafter, absolutely or conditionally, to perform or not to perform some one or more of the active operations." The motives by which the soul is influenced, in respect to its acts of choice, are its *constitutional inclinations*, the *bodily appetites*, and *all other entities*. Yet the will is free in all its acts of choice.

Such are the leading features of this system. Its principles are stated didactically and illustrated with great brevity. Their difference from those of other systems is only occasionally referred to, and the work is wholly free from that polemical aspect which has too much affected most philosophical discussions. On the whole we anticipate a favorable reception of this new system, as a concise, intelligible, and convenient class-book of Mental science.

2.—*Travels in Europe and the East, embracing Observations made during a Tour through Great Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Saxony, Bohemia, Austria, Bavaria, Switzerland, Lombardy, Tuscany, the Papal States, the Neapolitan Dominions, Malta, the Islands of the Archipelago, Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, Turkey, Moldavia, Wallachia and Hungary, in the years 1834, '35, '36, '37, '38, '39, '40, and '41. By Valentine Mott, M. D., President of the Medical Faculty of the University of New-York, and Professor of Surgery, etc. etc.* New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1842. pp. 452.

It has become fashionable, of late, to denominate a certain character of style *suggestive*. The above title exhibits this character in a remarkable degree. Besides its very numerous specifications, it *suggests* the author's high professional reputation, that he has enjoyed very peculiar advantages in his foreign travels, and has seen a great many countries and things, which he must of course be better qualified, than most tourists, to describe. We accordingly commenced the perusal of this handsome octavo volume, with raised expectations. In some respects, however, we have been disappointed.

The introductory pages, and other portions of the book which appear to be wholly original, besides containing many things of trifling interest, are written in a style which is strikingly faulty. Its sentences are unreasonably long and loaded with epithets; and, in many instances, they need to be broken up and rearranged, to become easily intelligible. There are also blunders in grammatical construction, and a use of unauthorized words, as "objectional," for objectionable, etc., indicating a defect of literary taste and discrimination, which would hardly be tolerated in a work of much lower pretensions.

But while we feel constrained to enter these strictures, we would by no means undervalue the work before us, or dis-

courage its perusal. The high professional standing of Dr. Mott, as a surgeon, gave him access to the best sources of information, on subjects relating to medical and surgical science, and his long residence and extensive travels abroad have enabled him to make some valuable remarks on the state of the healing art in the several countries which he visited. That portion of his book which relates to the European States, is confined almost exclusively to topics of this sort, and to descriptions of his interviews with distinguished individuals of the medical profession. Two thirds of the volume, however, are occupied with a narrative of his travels in Greece and Egypt, and the other Eastern countries named in the title-page, with historical sketches of their monumental remains, notices and illustrations of the present condition and habits of the people, etc. These portions of the work are written in a better style than the introductory chapters, and will be read with interest by those who are not already familiar with the work of Mr. Pittakys on Egypt, and other authors from whom Dr. Mott has derived the materials of his sketches.

3.—HARPERS' FAMILY LIBRARY:

No. 145. *On the Beauties, Harmonies, and Sublimities of Nature ; with Notes, Commentaries, and Illustrations.* By Charles Bucke, author of "*Ruins of Ancient Cities*," etc. Selected and Revised by William P. Page.

No. 146. *Essays on Property and Labor, as connected with Natural Law and the Constitution of Society.* By Francis Leiber.

No. 147. *The Natural History of Selborne.* By Rev. Gilbert White, A. M., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1842.

These are the last volumes of the Family Library, which have come into our hands; and as is usual in this series, they are good and useful books. The first is made up of choice selections from the larger work of Mr. Bucke, in three volumes. It comprises fifty-one distinct topics, relating to the most interesting and exciting objects and scenes in nature, and abounds in striking facts and sentiments, and in beautiful imagery. Its perusal is suited to exert a salutary moral influence upon the mind, and to excite an admiration of the works of God.

Dr. Leiber's Essay is a truly philosophical, and at the same time, a popular and very intelligible discussion of an important subject, on which there has heretofore existed great di-

versity and confusion of views, both in Europe and this country. The right of property lies at the foundation of the disputes which, in an age of advancing political freedom, must ever exist between the reforming and conservative classes of society; and in a republican country should be well understood by the people, as well as the government. The publication of Dr. Leiber's work, therefore, in an economical form, may be considered seasonable for the exertion of an extensive and a salutary influence. The author maintains, and we think demonstrates, that the rights of property are connected with the earliest and most lasting necessities of our being. They are not the results of law or government, but have a being before government and independent of it. They are rights which it is the office of human legislation, not to create, but to protect.

The Natural History of Selborne, is a volume of 335 pages, containing brief sketches of the natural scenery, the soils, productions, birds, beasts, reptiles, wild and tame animals in great variety, to be found in the parish of Selborne, (England,) a hundred years ago. It is written in the form of letters, in two series, the first of which is *forty-four* in number, and the second, *sixty-two*, accompanied with fifty-two wood engravings. It is a book of peculiar character, but simple and intelligible in its style, and well adapted to entertain and instruct the young reader.

4.—*History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, &c.* By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, Pres. of the Theol. School of Geneva, and Member of the Société Evangelique. Vol. III. First American from the fifth London Edition. New York: Robert Carter, 1842.

THE first and second volumes of this History were noticed in our last number. The opinion we there expressed of the rare excellency of the work is fully sustained by the present volume. While the sketch of Luther and his coadjutors in Germany has been continued with perhaps equal ability, the progress of the new opinions in Switzerland is invested with still greater interest, and the history of the Reformation in France is mainly drawn from unpublished documents, which throw much additional light on that eventful period. The printed materials for the early history of Protestantism in the latter country are few and scanty, owing to the severe and incessant trials which have harassed the Reformed Congregations. Hence the author has been led to devote much time

and labor to the examination of MSS., and the facts obtained in this way have enabled him "to reconstruct an entire phase of the Reformation in France." Beza has allotted but four pages to a period which occupies 164 pages of the volume before us.

- 5.—*Lectures on Agricultural Chemistry and Geology.* By James F. W. Johnson, M. A., F. R. SS. L. and E. Fellow of the Geological Society, etc. etc. New-York: Wiley & Putnam, 1842. pp. 300.

These lectures were addressed to a society of practical farmers in England, many of whom, as the author tells us, possessed no knowledge of scientific Chemistry or Geology. He accordingly employs no scientific terms and introduces no philosophical principles which he does not fully explain. The work is designed for the benefit of practical agriculturists in general, and is adapted to the average knowledge of that class. Any man of ordinary capacity, if he will "begin at the beginning," and read the book in its order, may easily comprehend its instructions and appropriate its principles in practice. We are much pleased with the clearness and simplicity of its statements, and do not hesitate to recommend it as admirably well adapted to direct our farmers in general to the best methods of rendering their lands, as well as their labor, productive of the most bountiful results. We advise them to read it.

- 6.—*The Biblical Cabinet, or Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library.* Vol. XXXII. *Annotations on some of the Messianic Psalms; from the Commentary of Rosenmüller; with the Latin Version and Notes of Dathe.* Translated by Robert Johnson. With an Introduction and Preface. Edinburgh: Thomas Clark, 1841.

The character and object of the Biblical Cabinet are sufficiently known from the title, and from previous notices in the Repository. The selections and the typographical execution are usually worthy of all praise; the translations perhaps not always the best. The present volume embraces a preface, in which the religious opinions of Kant are exhibited in extracts from his works, taken from the American Biblical Repository, No. I, January, 1831. Prof. Robinson's opinion of Rosenmüller's works, as "unadapted to the taste of American Students," is also quoted. Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg's Introduction to the Messianic Psalms, translated by the Rev. R. Keilb,

follows the preface, and will sufficiently correct any erroneous views of Rosenmüller. Next we have a general introduction to the book of Psalms of great value, then the annotations on the Messianic Psalms; and finally, Dathe's Latin version.

- 7.—*Sermons on the Life of the Early Christians*, by Dr. Chr. Ludw. Couard. Translated from the German by Leopold I. Bernays. Vol. XXXIII. Biblical Cabinet. Edinburgh, 1841.

It is interesting to be made acquainted with the early Christians, as we are in this volume. We here see them in their practical life, rather than on the arena of controversy, and we rejoice to find them exhibiting so much of the evangelical spirit, so much of likeness to Christ. It is equally interesting to know that sermons of so holy a tendency are preached from the pulpits of Germany, and issued from its presses. In the sermons entitled, "Zeal in Prayer of the Early Christians;" "The Life of Early Christians a life of Love;" "Earnestness of the first Christians in forsaking the World;" and "the Family Life of the Early Christians," there will be found many admirable thoughts and delightful sentiments. The views exhibited are just, and well worthy the attention of Christians in our day and in our land. The translation is good, and the book such as we can safely recommend.

- 8.—*History of the first Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles*. By Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated by J. E. Ryland. Edinburgh: Biblical Cabinet. Vols. XXXIV, XXXV. 1842.

These volumes will doubtless be welcomed by the scholars of Great Britain and the United States. They refer to an interesting period of the world's history, and come from the pen of Neander, than whom there is probably no better, no more impartial ecclesiastical historian living. We are obliged, however, to say, that the volumes are not printed with that accuracy and taste, which the matter merits, and which an Edinburgh press ought to exhibit. On the first two pages of the "Biographical Notice," there are no less than seven mistakes in the printing of German words, and throughout, an utter inattention to the accentuation of the Greek. In most words, the accents are altogether omitted, without distinction even of the aspirated and unaspirated vowels; then again, on the same page, and even in the same sentence and clause,

some words are accented, others not. These we consider imperfections in the book, which, we hope, Mr. Clark will in future avoid. Yet, notwithstanding these violations of taste and of correct typography, the work will unquestionably commend itself to public attention.

9.—*The Poems of John G. C. Brainard, with an original Memoir of his Life.* Hartford: Edward Hopkins, 1842.

This is a pretty, delicate duodecimo volume, creditable to the publisher, and, in some measure, emblematic of the pure spirit, whose thoughts and words its pages reveal. J. G. C. Brainard, the author of the poems, was born at New-London, Conn., near the close of the last century, was graduated at Yale College, studied law, located himself for practice at Middletown in his native state, but soon discovering the unadaptedness of his tastes and talents to his profession, gave the reins to his poetic genius, and finally became the editor of a newspaper at Hartford. In this calling, he labored assiduously, until impaired health sent him again to his father's fireside, where he gave up the ghost, leaning his head on his Saviour's bosom and breathing his "life out sweetly there"—called to string a better harp than earth could furnish, and to attune it to noble themes in a better clime.

The memoir prefixed to the poems, occupies some seventy pages, and is appropriately arranged and well expressed. It represents Brainard as a man of strong sensibilities, of social manners, sometimes jovial and witty, and manifesting those traits, which generally, more or less, characterize the man of poetic genius. The poetry of the volume does not exhibit that loftiness of thought nor that elevation of sentiment, which would entitle the author to a rank amongst the first of poets; yet there is much worthy of admiration, and occasional passages are sweetly charming. Among the most interesting are those, "On the Birth Day of Washington;" "Lines suggested by a late Occurrence;" "An Occurrence on board a Brig;" "Is it Fancy, or is it Fact?" "On Connecticut River."

10.—*Chapters on Church-yards.* By Caroline Southey, Authoress of "*Solitary Hours*," &c. &c. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1842. pp. 332.

This is a reprint of an English work, tastefully written, sentimental, descriptive and amusing. It is divided into twenty-six chapters, the subjects of which cannot be easily named

or defined. They are all, however, more or less occupied with descriptions of the scenery, the taste and ornament displayed in English church-yards or burying places, accompanied with critical and sentimental remarks, on the faults of the living in respect to their memorials of the dead. The subject is treated throughout, as a matter of taste, and we cannot but think that the author's views have been much influenced by the tendency, which exists in the forms and ceremonies of the English church, to attach too great a degree of religious importance to external graces and elegancies. Her remarks, however, are free and discursive, and often amusing. They are such as would easily suggest themselves to the leisurely traveller, of cultivated mind, who finds a melancholy pleasure in sauntering among the graves of the dead in the villages of an old and long inhabited country.

11.—*An Account of Discoveries in Lycia.* By Charles Fellowes. London, 1841.

Mr. Fellowes made his first visit to Asia Minor in 1838, and was fortunate enough to discover the sites of several ruined cities which had been explored by no European traveller. In passing across the peninsula from north to south he came upon the ruins of Selge, till then unexplored, and the valley of the Xanthus in Lycia furnished a rich field for his antiquarian researches. The results of this tour are given in his first work on Asia Minor, which was noticed some time since in several of the English periodicals.*

Early in 1840 he paid another visit to Asia Minor, but, instead of spreading his researches over a wide surface, judiciously confined himself to the single province of Ancient Lycia, a small tract not more perhaps than 60 miles long by 30 broad. The account of his tour is contained in the splendid volume now before us, and will be found to have important bearings upon more than one of the sciences connected with antiquity. In the first place, he has found out eleven ruined cities, making, together with Xanthus and Tlos, discovered on his first visit, thirteen of the cities of this little district whose situation no geographer before could determine. A part of these have been identified by the inscriptions still remaining; and a part ascertained upon probable grounds. It may give an idea of the uncertainty which heretofore prevailed

* See a brief review of Fellowes' Excursion in Asia Minor, in the "American Eclectic" for January, 1841.

in regard to the geography of this province, to state, that upon the map in Col. Leake's Asia Minor, which was the highest authority, Tlos, which Mr. Fellowes found to be just above the valley of the Xanthus, on the east side of the stream, appears beyond the Xanthus, and twenty miles to the north of it; while Pinaza is put by Leake at the head of the same river, though, in reality, it is situated on its west bank some six miles below Tlos. Most of the places discovered by Fellowes, Col. Leake does not venture to introduce into his map; and his Lycia looks like a desert, inhabited only on the coast, which had been surveyed with care by Capt. Beaufort of the British Navy. So entirely unknown was the modern geography of this country, that a very considerable Turkish town, containing, according to Mr. Fellowes, 25,000 inhabitants, and situated on a very lofty plain in the northeastern part of Lycia, is as much one of his *discoveries* as are the ruins of the ancient cities.

The whole of Lycia, including also Milyas and Cibyratis, seems to consist of spurs from the main ridge of Mt. Taurus, which here runs very near the sea, of very lofty plains, and of the narrow valleys of short streams. One of the most extensive plains is estimated by Mr. Fellowes to be 4,000 feet above the sea, and the highest mountain of Lycia to attain an elevation of 7,800.

The architectural remains of Lycia, as discovered by Mr. Fellowes, though only tombs, possess great interest. Some of them are of forms somewhat peculiar to the country, and others appear to us to possess great merit for the excellence of their proportions. Others still are adorned with bas reliefs, in an early style, and show that the art of building had made great progress in this district. The most remarkable of all the bas reliefs are upon an obelisk tomb at Xanthus, and are thought by Mr. Gibson, an eminent English statuary at Rome, to have a reference to the story, told in the Odyssey, of the Harpies flying away with the daughters of Pandarus, king of Lycia.

A great part of the inscriptions copied by Mr. Fellowes are of the Roman times, and possess but little interest. Those of Aphrodisias in Caria, unnecessarily swell the size of the book, having been nearly all transcribed before. But the curiosity of the scholar is greatly aroused by those in the native language of the province, of which description some two or three and twenty are given by Mr. Fellowes, besides the legends on a number of coins. Four inscriptions in this enchorial language had been previously known, and one had furnished some clue to its alphabet by being accompanied with a Greek

translation. But, on an obelisk at Xanthus, which was the ancient capital of the country, Mr. Fellowes found a very long inscription tolerably well preserved, in letters more than an inch and a half tall, and covering, in nearly 250 lines, the four sides of the monument. What adds to the interest of this inscription is that ten lines of it on one of the sides are in Greek, inserted between lines in the native alphabet. Unhappily the Greek lay at a distance from the eye of the traveller, in a bad light, and, being cut more imperfectly than the rest, are not well deciphered. It is impossible, therefore, without the aid of frequent conjecture, to make any continuous sense of them. They seem to be of funereal import, and we judge from the forms of several letters that the inscription is not of a very early date.

The appendix to Mr. Fellowes' work, contains an attempt by Mr. Daniel Sharpe, to ascertain the alphabet and the meanings of some of the words of this new language. The alphabet is in the main the same with the Greek, but more limited in its number of consonants, while, if Mr. Sharpe has reached the truth,—which in some cases may well be doubted,—it abounds with short and long vowels. To one of these vowels, *ov* or *w*, Mr. Sharpe is obliged to give three distinct forms. As for the words, the investigations are entirely unsatisfactory, with the exception of a few continually recurring, some of which are explained by a Greek translation. Mr. Sharpe resorts to the Zend for most of his explanations, without having a thorough knowledge of that language. One of the commonest words, translated by *ποιεω*, *make*, probably in the Greek part of one inscription, appears in various forms, showing that the language was inflected in a way something like the Greek, but the word has no known cognate in any other language.

W.

12.—*Rost's Greek Lexicon. Fasciculus I.*

Passow having left his plan of a Greek Lexicon imperfect at his decease, it became desirable to provide another for the student, which should be an equal aid in reading the epic poets and Herodotus, (below which writers Passow's thorough examinations did not descend,) and in studying the remains of the Attic and later writers. This task has been undertaken by Dr. Rost of Gotha, who is favorably known by his Grammar and other works, as well as by his superintendence of the Gotha editions of the Greek classics. His task is no less than to give the significations and the use of every Greek

word from Homer to the beginning of the Byzantine period. Hitherto no approach has been made in modern times, to the completion of such a task, if we except Schneider's lexicon, and the reprints of Henry Stephens' (Etienne) Thesaurus. The latter coming from many hands is a complete chaos, ill-digested and disproportioned: the former is excellent in some respects, and indeed is the basis of Passow's work; but it is by no means extensive and particular enough, nor is it on a level with the present state of learning, especially as it regards the more classical writers of Greece. The call for a new lexicon, therefore, is great; and Rost's qualifications are such in the estimation of his countrymen, that at the meeting of philologists (we believe in 1839), before whom he laid his project, he was warmly encouraged to persevere. He has received also more substantial demonstrations of good-will in the lexical collections of Frederick Jacobs, Kaltwasser, Berzk, Spitzner and others.

The first fasciculus of this work appeared more than a year ago, and reaches to ἀμφιμυξάομαι. It contains 264 pages, whereas Passow arrives at the same point in 124. As eight of Rost's lines are equal to twelve of Passow's, and the number of lines on a page is the same in both, our readers will see that the new lexicon, if the proportion is continued, must contain three times the amount of matter of the old.

We are sorry to say, that like many excellent German works, this will move forwards very slowly. Mr. Rost thinks that if his health is sound, he can furnish one fasciculus yearly. Now as there are to be 16 parts at least, each of about the size of the first, which lies before us, we have little expectation either that the author or that we ourselves will live to hail the completion. How much better that the public should not be apprised of such a work until the long incubation of the author should have ended, and the brood of fasciculi be ready at very short intervals with little more than the delay required in printing, to come out into the world.

So far as we have examined this specimen of Mr. Rost's labors, we find a decided improvement upon Passow, both as it regards the number of words and the fullness of remarks upon the more important ones. Much is introduced from Passow, but we believe without acknowledgment. This seems to be fair enough, as far as the bookseller is concerned, since the same person owns both works. But all such proceedings ought to be openly acknowledged, whether occurring in a lexicon like the one before us, or in a classical dictionary, or

anywhere else. Very much, however, is Mr. Rost's own; and the most important parts of the work,—the arrangements of meanings and the remarks upon construction, proceed plainly from the author's own careful study and laborious collections.

A comparison of the way in which single words are handled by the two lexicographers would here find its appropriate place. But as our limits forbid us to enter into this comparison at any length, and as one or two words would hardly serve as samples of the general execution, we will forbear to add any examples, and only assure our readers that we have made such a comparison in a number of instances, and have arisen from it with great satisfaction as to the results of Mr. Rost's labors.

In the etymological part, where Passow is far behind the present state of learning, Rost has not advanced much beyond him. We are sorry for this, and it seems quite unnecessary: for if Mr. Rost has not given his attention to the light thrown upon the roots of the Greek by those who have studied Sanscrit, the Teutonic and other kindred dialects in the present age, such as Bopp, Grimm, Eichhoff and Schlegel, surely some one of his friends might have furnished him with the necessary information. Another defect we find, in the trifling way, in which the New Testament significations are disposed of. Under ἄγγελος the author remarks, "the prophets and apostles," and in general the teachers of the church, are so called in the New Testament and in ecclesiastical writers, as announcing the divine word: in Philo, and ecclesiastical writers especially, the angels." As though the meaning *angels* were not found in the New Testament, where it is by far the commonest of all, whilst the word there assumes, also, in several places, the ordinary sense of a messenger, and scarcely ever adopts the only meaning which Rost mentions, viz. that of a religious messenger. It were better to confine the Lexicon to the heathen writers than to treat the words of the New Testament in this perfunctory manner.

W.

13.—*Tecumseh, or the West Thirty years Since. A Poem, by George H. Colton.* New-York: Wiley & Putnam, 1842.

We are sorry to be called on to express an opinion of this Poem before it is fully published. It is to be comprised in a single volume, of about 300 pages. Only 175 pages have been handed us, in sheets. The balance is yet in the press, to be brought out in a few days. The whole is to consist of eight

cantos. What we have in hand we have read, every word of it,—five cantos and a part of the sixth,—and it has whetted our appetite for the rest. It is an epic, the design of which is to set forth the almost universal rallying of the North American Indians, by one united and desperate onset, to avenge upon the white men the injuries they had inflicted upon the aboriginal race. Tecumseh is represented as the master spirit of his age, with indomitable zeal, courage and perseverance, rousing the different and distant tribes to a sense of their wrongs, and urging them, one and all,

—————“by their fathers slain,
No more in voiceless peace remain;
For better crushed by trampling Fate,
Than exiled, scorned and desolate.”

Battles are described as moved and energized by this spirit of revenge, and the whole is intermingled with glowing descriptions of natural scenery and incidents of the most touching character. As these sheets are accompanied with no explanatory notes, and as we cannot see the end from the beginning, we can only say of the concealed plan of the poem, that it develops handsomely thus far, and gives promise of a catastrophe, of no ordinary interest and magnitude. The theme is purely American and of great historical interest. It is well worthy of the highest effort of poetic genius; and the author, though young and “unknown to fame,” has certainly exhibited an elevation and strength of conception, and a boldness and beauty of imagery, which would do honor to a much more practised hand.

14.—*Meditations and Addresses on the subject of Prayer.* By the Rev. Hugh White, A. M., Curate of St. Mary's Parish, Dublin. New York: Robert Carter, 1842. 237 pp.

This is the first American, from the *tenth Dublin edition*. It is the result of the author's pious reflections in a state of health which compelled him to suspend, for a season, his active labors, as a pastor. It breathes a deeply evangelical spirit, and exhibits enlightened and practical views of a duty in respect to which, as its obligations are universal, “men ought always” and evermore to be instructed. It discusses the subject under the following heads; “Importance of prayer,” “Nature of prayer,” “Caution on the subject of prayer,”—“Reverence and freedom in prayer,”—“Humility and confidence in prayer,”

"Watchfulness and dependence in prayer," "Prayer for temporal blessings," "Intercessory prayer," "Thanksgiving and praise."

- 15.—*Norway and the Norwegians ; or Feats on the Fiord. A Tale.* By Harriet Martineau. New York : D. Appleton & Co., 1842. pp. 180.

This neat little volume surpasses our expectations in value and interest. It is partly fact and partly fiction, which are so woven together as to present a more striking and comprehensive view, than any isolated narrative could furnish, of the manners, character and superstitions of the Norwegians. The reader who begins will be almost certain to finish the book ; and he will rise from its perusal, feeling, not only that he has been entertained, but instructed. He will be conscious that he now possesses an acquaintance with real life in those hyperborean regions, though derived from descriptions of scenes and events, which, perhaps, have never been witnessed in the precise order in which they are here presented.

- 16.—*A Demonstration of the Authority and Wisdom of Punishment by Death for Murder.* By Rev. George B. Cheever. New-York : M. W. Dodd, 1842.

We have observed with interest the arguments lately put forth in England, in defence of capital punishment for the crime of murder ; and we cannot regard with indifference the circumstances, among ourselves, which have enlisted the pens of several American divines on the same subject. Recent endeavors, in the Legislature, to change the laws of the State of New-York, have rendered it a topic of special interest to her citizens. Many clergymen have preached on the subject, and several have published single discourses. Mr. Cheever has attempted a more labored and extended argument. He defends the authority and wisdom of capital punishment for murder on the grounds of Scripture and expediency. In conducting the Scripture argument, he maintains the correctness of the common translation of the passage in Genesis,—“Whoso sheddeth man’s blood,” etc.,—considers the circumstances of the human race when this ordinance was promulgated, its universality and comprehensiveness, the Mosaic statutes respecting it, its confirmation in the New Testament, and the consentaneousness of Divine Providence. In respect to the final causes of the ordinance, the author regards its bearing upon the principles of the Divine government as one of the most important

branches of the subject. The whole discussion is conducted with ingenuity and adroitness, and with a thoroughness of research which is highly creditable to the author. We recommend it as well suited to correct and settle the views of candid inquirers, whose compassion for even the guilty, under suffering, has shaken their confidence in principles of government which are demanded both by the authority of God and the best interests of human society.

ADDITIONAL NOTICES.

Capital Punishment, sustained by Reason and the Word of God ; being the substance of a Sermon preached in the Spring-street Presbyterian Church, by Rev. William Patton, D. D. New York. Dayton and Newman, 1842. The questions raised in this Sermon are: Whether man has any right to take away the life of the irrational creature, or of man; which, on the ground of certain grants and ordinances the author answers in the affirmative; and states several things obviously forbidden in the sixth Commandment. The argument is brief and well stated.

The Juvenile Naturalist ; or Walks in the Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter. By B. H. Draper. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1842. 2 Vols. pp. 237, 232. These little volumes are in the publishers' best style of printing and binding, and are illustrated with numerous engravings. They are among the very best books for the young which we have seen. We earnestly recommend them to the attention of parents, who would provide for their children objects of thought tending to their elevation and improvement.

Our Country ; its Capabilities, its Perils, and its Hope. Being a Plea for the early establishment of Gospel Institutions in the Destitute Portions of the United States. Published by the Executive Committee of the American Home Missionary Society. New York, 1842. This is a pamphlet of sixty pages. Its object is "to present a condensed view of the facts which constitute our country's claim, on all her sons, to promote the moral improvement of Society at home." Its statistics are authentic and accurate, and its argument cumulative and irresistible.

ARTICLE XI.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Germany.

DR. PLUCKER has been appointed professor at Bonn in the place of Dr. Augusti. Dr. H. A. G. Hävernicks, recently professor extraordinary at Rostock, has been made professor of theology at Königsberg. The Library of the University of Tübingen has just received a valuable accession in the department of Oriental MSS.; the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish MSS., which belonged to Prof. Schulz, (who was killed in Kurdistan, in 1829,) have been added to the collection. Dr. Wuttke of the University of Leipsic has discovered and published a manuscript Autobiography of Christian Wolff; the editor has appended as Essay on the philosophy of Wolff, with a part of his correspondence. Among the recent publications of Germany, we notice Luther's complete works, Vol. XXX, containing a portion of his polemical writings; Umbreit's Practical Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament, Vol. I., it being Part I. of his Commentary on Isaiah; the Life and Works of Melancthon by Matthes; Karl Otfried Müller's History of Greek Literature to the Age of Alexander, from a MS. of the author by Dr. Ed. Müller.

Holland.

According to the latest account which we have seen of the Dutch Universities, they had 1397 students; in Leyden there were 634, in Utrecht, 484. Of this number, 323 were studying theology; 502, jurisprudence; 366, medicine; 65, natural science; 141, philosophy.

United States.

George A. Peters proposes soon to publish, at the office of the American Biblical Repository, a new work in one volume, to be denominated, "The Principles of Æsthetics, in their application to Literature," or the "Elements of Literary Taste." By Rev. Charles B. Haddock, Professor of Intellectual Philosophy and English Literature in Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. For a specimen of the work, see Article VI, present No. of the Repository.

John S. Taylor & Co., New-York, have in press, and will publish in a few days, Prof. Gaussen's work on "Theopneusty, or Plenary Inspiration of the Bible," translated from the French by Rev. E. N. Kirk. It will be in one volume of about 300 pages. For an account of the original work, see Biblical Repository of July last. Wiley & Putnam, New-York, are preparing for immediate republication, "A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Arts; comprising the history, description, and scientific principles of every branch of human knowledge," etc., illustrated with engravings. Edited by W. T. Brande, F. R. S. and Joseph Cauvin, Esq. It will appear in 24 parts, at 25 cents each. Allen, Morrill and Wardwell, propose to publish, at the Codman press, Andover, Sermons and Literary Remains of Rev. William Bradford Homer, late Pastor of the Cong. Church, South Berwick, Me. Edited, with a Memoir, by Rev. E. A. Park, Professor in the Theol. Sem., Andover. Jonathan Leavitt and J. F. Trow, of New-York, will publish in April, a beautiful reprint of Hahn's edition of the Greek New Testament, superintended by E. Robinson, D. D.

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